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Diary of the Week.

THE German Emperor left these shores on Saturday, after issuing a communication expressing his delight with his stay in England, with the warmth of the popular reception, and with the cordiality of the greeting given to his daughter on her first visit to England. All accounts of the visit agree that its social success has been unqualified, and that the two Courts stand in a far more cordial relationship than has existed at any period during the Kaiser's reign, save its opening passages. France, on the other hand, has undoubtedly noted the character and atmosphere of the visit with some uneasiness. We, however, doubt whether politics have been largely discussed, and we are sure the improvement of relationship has been moral rather than material, and that this is all to our and to France's good.

THE Reconstitution Bill was read a second time on Monday without a division, the Opposition Peers withdrawing from their threatened hostile vote, but, in revenge, covering the measure with bitter depreciation. This Lord Lansdowne so far acknowledged as to confess that his measure might not be ripe, but he defended its substance and general purpose. On Tuesday the Parliament Bill came up for Second Reading, and was commended by Lord Morley in a most lucid and powerful review of the political situation which had brought about the crisis. He declared that the House of Lords had stripped themselves of moral authority, insisted on the passage of the Bill, but hinted that in a permanent settlement of relationships it might be possible to devise a more convenient and less dilatory method than the two years' delay imposed by the Bill. This hint at joint

sittings was echoed by the Lord Chancellor, who asked the Lords whether they would consent to equalise for both parties the measure of restraint imposed by the Second Chamber. The Primate, with some unction, urged a plea for peace and compromise, based on the moderation and placability of the Peers. The House on both sides is cold to its clerical element; and the speech had no visible effect. But it is probably meant for a tentative display of the white flag.

THE Imperial Conference held their first business meeting on Tuesday. The Prime Minister, addressing the Ministers, announced that the question of Imperial defence would be discussed before the Defence Committee, which the five Premiers and their colleagues would attend. He described the two governing characteristics of the British Empire as the reign of law and the combination of local autonomy with loyalty to a common head. He dropped a wise hint as to New Zealand's proposal of an Advisory Council for the Empire, which the later procedure of the Conference fully justified. Having decided to sit in private, the Conference discussed Sir Joseph Ward's scheme on Thursday, and it was withdrawn after searching and unanimous criticism by the Prime Minister and the four national Premiers. The plan turned out to be a proposal for a parliament of 297 members, contributed in proportions of 37 for Canada, 25 for Australia, seven for South Africa, six for New Zealand, two for Newfoundland, and 220 for the United Kingdom, combined with a defence Council of twelve, in which the Prime Minister pointed out that we should have two representatives to the Dominions' ten! There would also be an executive of fifteen members. After ten years this Parliament would have the power of taxation for common purposes, chiefly those of defence.

THIS impossible scheme was at once riddled with criticism. The Prime Minister declared that it would impair, if not destroy, first, the authority of the Home Government in the conduct of foreign policy, diplomacy, and war, and secondly, its responsibility to Parliament. No British Government could assent to such a proposal. Much the same line was taken by the Dominion Premiers. Sir Wilfrid Laurier said that the Home Governments would be "dumb agents" in carrying out the new Defence Parliament's orders. Mr. Fisher said that it attacked the principle of responsible government, General Botha that it could only create friction between the self-governing parts of the Empire (India and the Crown Colonies are, of course, left out, the Parliament only representing thirteen millions of white people), and Sir E. Morris that this Parliament and the present Imperial Government could not co-exist. Thus, with all the five centres represented against him, Sir Joseph Ward gracefully withdrew his plan, recognising its great difficulties.

THE debate on the second reading of the Insurance Bill was moved on Wednesday by Mr. Sydney Buxton, in a very wise speech, devoted largely to the exposition of Part II., which deals with unemployment. No one of the following speeches was hostile, the most critical being that of Mr. Barnes, the Labor Party object-

ing to the wording of Clauses 18 and 20, which prescribe the conditions under which trade unions can become approved societies. Trade unions fear that smaller bodies will be excluded, and the fighting funds interfered with. They also consider that the security required is far more than most unions could afford; but these are points of detail, and Mr. Buxton hinted that they could be met. For the rest, Sir Thomas Whittaker—the ablest of the insurance experts in the House—described the measure uncompromisingly as the greatest scheme of social reform introduced in his experience, and the representatives of the doctors, English and Irish, asked chiefly for amendments of detail. Nor was the opposition a partisan one, Mr. Forster thought that the Bill would be unpopular, but pledged his Party not to extract capital from this fact, while Young Toryism, in the person of Mr. Astor, was almost enthusiastic. The debate is to go on till Monday, but, though the later speeches of Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Evans, and Mr. Booth were critical, no section of the House threatens a hostile division. Mr. Churchill made a brilliant defence of the unemployment scheme on Thursday. The Government propose to give about six weeks to its passage through Committee, a scheme which will involve the sitting of the House till late August.

OUTSIDE the House the chief line of criticism has been that of the doctors, individually and through their great organisations, which rather represent the interest of the consultant than of the general practitioner. Their objections are three-fold. They fear the cutting down of their private practice among the smaller middle-class, drawn into the great contract system; they do not relish a closer and more binding association with the friendly societies; and they do not think that the proposed capitation fee of six shillings a head sufficiently rewards them for compulsory attendance not only on members of friendly societies but on the bad lives grouped under the Post Office scheme. They also press for a general retention of the patient's right to a free choice of doctors.

THE French expedition to Fez turns out to have been, as we anticipated, a wanton machination, formed on a baseless scare. There has been nothing quite to equal it in fundamental mendacity since Dr. Jameson set out to rescue the women and children of Johannesburg from massacre by the Boers. Colonel Moinier's column arrived in the city on Sunday. His march, save for some sniping and a few incidents with convoys, had been uneventful and unopposed. He entered the capital without difficulty, and found the very few Europeans within it safe and well. "The people of Fez," we are told by the "Times," "take little interest in the relief column," and probably wonder why it has come. The courier has just brought the news of the beleaguered garrison up to May 18th—the courier, by the way, has always arrived, despite rebellions and battles, with punctual regularity. The "severest battle" of the so-called siege was fought on the 11th. It was only necessary for one-third of the garrison to go into action. It lost ten natives killed and wounded, while it accounted for 250 of the rebels. Food was entering the town, which evidently was very well able to take care of itself.

THE motives of the French Colonial party, or in other words of the group of stockbrokers who deal in Moorish loans, and of armor-plate firms which belong to the *Union des Mines*, are perfectly intelligible. They want profits on forced loans now, and the rich produce of the Moroccan ironfields, when the country has been

reduced to the level of Tunis. But it is less easy to understand why Sir Edward Grey, if we rightly interpret his answers to questions, has given his approval to this scandalous aggression. It is possible to be oneself so honorable that the most obvious financial intrigues pass unobserved before one's eyes. The future of Morocco will now be one of permanent tutelage. We are told that the "relief column" will not remain permanently in Fez. A considerable native army will, however, be organised under French officers, and the road from Casablanca to Fez will be kept open by fortified posts, so that at short notice, and with a minimum of risk and inconvenience a French force can always march from its permanent base on the coast to support or coerce a puppet Sultan. The column will incidentally "relieve" Mehinez (where some American missionaries have been protected and cared for by the rebels), and chastise the Zaer tribe. It also promises an amnesty to the rebels, and guarantees against oppression, which, of course, mean French control. How much will be added in indemnities to the Moorish debt we are not yet informed.

THE sensational East Nottingham petition has ended in the complete triumph of the respondent on all the counts of the indictment against him. The judges dismissed the charges of wholesale bribery, and decided to believe the witnesses in denying that they were corrupt, and confessing to wholesale and complicated lying, and conspiracy to get money on false pretences. They also dismissed charges of corruption against individuals. As to the payment of ten-shilling postal orders to over 1,300 people, by means of Captain Morrison's agent, and from his political headquarters, the judges found that though the intention of these acts was to gain popularity for the Captain and to help him in his election, their legality must be judged by their "governing motive," and this Mr. Justice Channell and Mr. Justice Bucknill held to be what they described as "real charity." Mr. Justice Channell quoted many previous judgments in support of this piece of judicial philosophy, including Baron Pollock's notorious decision in *St. George's in the East*. The decision has created much indignation in the Liberal Press, and the "Times," while strangely thinking that the judges have been a "satisfactory" tribunal for the trial of these petitions, fears that the permitting of electoral expenditure for any such "motive" must lead to "abuses."

THE preliminary figures of the Census for England and Wales yield some interesting results. The total population stands at 36,000,000, an increase of about eleven per cent. in ten years. But there is a slackening in the rate of increase, as compared with the previous decade, of about one and a half per cent. Greater London has grown by ten per cent., and its population stands at the enormous total of seven and a quarter millions. The general features of the returns are three-fold—the trifling increases in the rural counties and centres, the large urban and suburban growth, and the tendency of all great towns, and especially the capital, to throw out wider and wider rings of outlying population, while shrinking at the centres. In London this outside ring has grown by thirty-three per cent., and one South-Western suburb alone—Wandsworth—has found 75,000 new inhabitants.

OUTSIDE London the greatest numerical increase is in Manchester, which has gained nearly 70,000 inhabitants. The growth of Lancashire as a whole is less re-

markable. Many of the more striking increases in percentage in England and Wales are merely signs of urban or suburban growth—Middlesex forty-two per cent., Essex thirty per cent., Hertfordshire twenty per cent., and Glamorganshire thirty-nine per cent. The English rural counties show for the most part no such symptoms of vitality. The increases are small and it is melancholy to see that Cumberland and Westmoreland—the breeding grounds of some of our best rural types—are actually declining. The general conclusions would seem to be that great towns are being split up into loosely connected semi-rural townships, which call for enlightened schemes of building and settlement. Agriculture is still nearly stagnant, but is not declining, and the whole population seems to have passed the period of growth by leaps and bounds.

A GHASTLY accident occurred early on Sunday morning in the grounds at Issy-les-Moulineaux, at the starting of the Paris-Madrid aeroplane race. A competitor named Train, after rising, had difficulties with his motor, and tried to descend. But the enormous crowd, said to number hundreds of thousands of persons, had invaded the course, and, under very faulty police arrangements, was being shepherded by bodies of Cuirassiers. The aviator in descending, turned sharply to avoid the cavalry, and glided at 30 or 40 miles an hour into a group of spectators, who were concealed from his view behind the horses. The group consisted of Ministers and other notabilities. M. Berteaux, the Minister of War, was torn to pieces by the revolving propeller, and killed almost instantly. M. Monis, the Prime Minister, was knocked down and seriously wounded. Despite the earlier fears, it is now, happily, probable that he will recover, though he will be disabled for many weeks. This calamity has aroused all over the world the utmost horror and the keenest sympathy. M. Berteaux was the strongest personality of the Cabinet, and though a very wealthy man and a financier, had genuine democratic sympathies, which caused the Socialists to trust him.

THE Home Rule Bill for Alsace-Lorraine, which was drafted by the Imperial Government in a form so nigardly and so reactionary as to be hardly worth accepting, even as an instalment, has been turned inside-out by the Reichstag Committee, and has now reappeared in a decidedly satisfactory shape. The provinces will have three direct representatives on the Federal Council. The franchise, which had been fettered by all manner of restrictions, is stripped of its worst class inequalities. The Socialists will try to include women, to reduce the residential qualification from three years to one, and to reduce the age limit. But, even if they fail in these attempts, the Constitution marks an immense advance towards the fair treatment of a conquered population. The Bill has now passed its committee stage in the whole Reichstag (after complete remodelling, "upstairs"), and may be considered out of danger. Herr Bethmann-Hollweg, the author of the original reactionary draft, has accepted the new version with a remarkably good grace. It is thought that his attitude indicates a desire to appease French sentiment, and to promote a permanent reconciliation.

ALTHOUGH the Albanian revolt shows no sign of spreading beyond its original area round Scutari, the Turks have so far failed (except on one occasion by treachery) to win any substantial success, and have suffered some recent defeats. Nevertheless, Montenegro has affected a sudden alarm lest the Turks, who have

enough to do to suppress the Albanians, should make war upon her. The little kingdom has appealed in a circular note to the Powers for protection. The response has come with a promptitude which suggests pre-arrangement, from Russia. A note addressed to Turkey has been summarised by the St. Petersburg official news agency, and if the summary is accurate, it was a somewhat minatory document. The German press broke out in exaggerated comments, and asked whether Russia meant to make war on Turkey. The news from Constantinople, however, suggests that the remonstrance, as presented verbally by the Russian Ambassador, was comparatively mild and courteous. It is difficult to take the incident very seriously.

WE do not at all like the proposal to build a new bridge across the Thames (hereafter to be called, from its position, St. Paul's Bridge), and to spend upon it two and a quarter million pounds, a quarter of which will go in compensation to owners of private property. The scheme has been excogitated by a committee of the London Corporation, unaided and unmitigated by the advice of a single artist or architect, though the problem is essentially an architectural one. It is merely the work of their consulting engineer, assisted by a valuer and surveyor, called in to advise in the matter of compensation. The scheme is an extremely bad one. Between St. Paul's and the river a wide new thoroughfare is to be cut, and it is to run over the bridge to Southwark Street. So far, so good. Crossing the bridge we might then see, high before us, the dome and massy centre of the Cathedral; the new street itself might be designed to debouch upon that noble structure.

BUT the Corporation have perceived that by opening the new thoroughfare some hundred feet eastwards, St. Paul's may remain concealed. Why, in such a matter, did not the Corporation consult Sir Aston Webb, who has recently been appointed architect to the Port of London? Under these very unsatisfactory circumstances it seems to us fair to ask, in the public interest, that the whole scheme should be referred back to the Committee, so that independent expert advice may be obtained. If this is not conceded, we hope the House will not hesitate to throw it out.

OUR Paris correspondent writes:—"I have seen this afternoon M. João Chagas, the Portuguese Minister at Paris, who has authorised me to give, through THE NATION, an emphatic contradiction to the sensational reports that have recently been published in certain English newspapers in regard to the situation in Portugal. M. Chagas affirms that the condition of Portugal as a whole is perfectly calm, that the Monarchists are a handful of malcontents, and that the statements that a counter-revolution is impending and that a portion of the army is ready to revolt are entirely without foundation. These reports, M. Chagas said, are circulated by the Monarchists with the object of spreading alarm and anxiety, and they have succeeded in that object to a limited extent, a certain number of the wealthier inhabitants of Lisbon having been sufficiently frightened by them to leave the city. M. Chagas suggested that possibly the source of some of these statements published in England must be sought in the neighborhood of Richmond rather than in Portugal itself. His knowledge of Portuguese opinion—and he was one of the chief actors in the recent revolution—enabled him to say with certainty that it was overwhelmingly Republican."

Politics and Affairs.

THE NON-EXISTENT CHAMBER.

THE debate in the House of Lords on the Parliament Bill reminds us of nothing so much as the sceptical philosopher's treatise "On Nature; or that which is not." Nature, the thesis was, does not exist; if it did exist it could not be known; if it could be known, nothing about it could be communicated. Lord Rosebery, during the last General Election, declared that the House of Lords no longer existed, though he made a series of "non-partisan speeches" in its defence. He was a little premature. But since the second reading debates on the Lansdowne Bill, we may fairly say that the House of Lords has confessed, though with sorrow, its own nonentity. As an authoritative element in the constitution, the House of Lords no longer exists; if it did, it could not on its own principles resist the Veto Bill; and if it did resist, no account would or could be taken of it. It requires the genius of Lord Haldane to do justice to the metaphysical subtleties involved in the nature of an institution which is thus between "being and non-being," and we trust that he will intervene in the discussion with an additional Gifford lecture, pointing out to the Lords the Pathway to Reality, and indicating the nature of the Higher Synthesis in which they are to be absorbed. At present, he will convince them, they are of the world of Appearances, merely phenomena, visible to the outward eye as so many robes and coronets, but to the mind's eye mere contradictions who "fill the unreal part of themselves with unreal things"—as, for example, with the illusion that the country is mourning for them, groaning under the tyranny which is disestablishing them, weeping for their hereditary wisdom, and refusing to be comforted because it is not.

The hopeless contradictions of the Lords' position affect their arguments. The Parliament Bill, according to Lord Midleton, is being imposed on them in the interests of 21 millions of the people; but to resist it on the second reading would be to invite a grave crisis and excite the most extreme feelings. It is no longer for the House of Lords as it now stands to oppose it, yet it is for that House to wreck it by amendments which Lord Midleton knows perfectly well will never be accepted. The Bill cannot pass in its present form, and when it has passed, Lord Midleton's friends will return to power and reverse it. The existing chamber has admitted its own nullity, but in its "atmosphere" it is unnecessary to argue that measures like Home Rule cannot be entrusted to the mere representatives of the people. Lord Midleton is perhaps less distinguished for clear and consecutive thinking than for that constructive imagination which could give to the airy nothings of non-existent army corps a local habitation and the Brodrick cap. But when duly tutored by Lord Haldane, he may come to discern that it is precisely because the "atmosphere" of the House of Lords is as he describes it that the people of this country are insisting on opening doors and windows, and introducing the fresh-air treatment. When this dis-

tinguished statesman complains that the Bill will leave the government of the country to the merest tyro that ever entered the House of Commons, forgetting incidentally, that one member—tyro or otherwise—does not make a majority, he speaks with full experience of the ease with which some men can still enter that House, innocent of knowledge of life or capacity for public affairs, merely because they are eldest sons. But he forgets that, even as things now stand, eldest sons may in the end be found out and dismissed by their constituencies, while, if they find refuge in the House of Lords, they are fixed in a seat of power without the possibility of being dislodged. The fact that Lord Midleton himself failed to hold one of the most Conservative seats in England is not of itself a positive argument in favor of his superiority to those who, however inexperienced or unwise, must at least show themselves capable of gaining the suffrages of a constituency.

In general as to this supreme wisdom of an impartial assembly, Lord Morley had one or two pointed remarks to make. We have Lord Lansdowne, the proper type of the Whig aristocracy, which for so long did us the honor to guide our infant steps to liberty within such limits as were allowed by their apron strings. We have Lord Milner, the more than perfect type of the Anglo-German bureaucrat, the official superior to the persons that boss mankind. What an opportunity was theirs when South Africa was set free! What a chance for rising, the one above party, the other above the personal prepossessions deriving from past policy! Here was the moment to show the man, to prove of what finer clay are those who truckle to no base electorate for power, who in that Olympian detachment see politics steadily, and see it whole. How they might have rebuked Mr. Balfour—for he, too, is a mere elected member—for his narrowness of vision, and associated themselves in the purest spirit of Imperial patriotism with an act of statesmanship that carried forward the best traditions of Empire, and added first two new colonies, and then a freer united Dominion to the free British communities across the seas! How the light of statesmanship failed we all know. We know, too, that if the self-government of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State had depended on the fortunes of a Bill, there would have been no freedom for these Colonies, and no Union of South Africa to-day. If the House of Lords had had the power, if it had not been open to Ministers to use the prerogative of the Crown, responsible government would have been refused. The Union would have been impossible. The Act which, by universal admission, redounds most to the credit of the Liberal administration, would have been frustrated. General Botha would not have been here to-day as Minister of the Crown, and in place of the Imperial Conference, representing in their completeness the white communities of the Empire, there would have been the shadow of Milnerism and militarism darkening South Africa from the Zambesi to the Cape.

The peers retain a tragi-comic belief in their own capacity, and their hold on the affections of the people, which sorts most oddly with their discussions, in which the end of their rule is taken for granted on all sides,

and the only question is whether the shape of their body should be radically changed, or its powers drastically curtailed. They are still in the state of mind of Lord Onslow, who talks of the land suffering when he sells it. There is plenty of human nature in it all, and men who through life have been accustomed to be the suns of their immature solar systems naturally have some difficulty in conceiving the celestial mechanism from any point of view but their own. But "in their own interests," as they themselves and their friends so often say, it is best to treat them firmly. They must understand that this is, and long has been, a self-governing country; that they have sought to use ancient and obsolete forms to obstruct self-government; that they appealed to Cæsar, not once, but twice; and that they must abide by the appeal. The decision given was that the Parliament Bill should go through. That Bill was known at the first election in principle, at the second in detail. It was known that in the passage certain consequential measures would be taken in hand. Among these Home Rule was conspicuous. The anti-Irish prejudice was worked for what it was worth in every constituency last December. After this we are not going to mutilate the Bill by tolerating wrecking amendments. Home Rule will have to run the gauntlet of the provisions laid down in the Bill itself, and these are sufficiently severe. It must maintain a majority through the committee discussions in the House of Commons next year, and having done so, it must get itself reasserted the year after, and the year after that again. In the interval the Government may go out, on no one knows what issue. But supposing that it retains power—as we hope it will—the country has ample time to declare itself. Before the end, the next General Election will be approaching. If Home Rule is unpopular, as the Lords think, will they maintain that the Government can carry it in these conditions? Must they not rather admit, as soon as they get near to the actual working of the suspensory veto, that it leaves them immense power, not indeed to thwart indefinitely a measure which commends itself to the good sense of the majority, but to destroy by the mere force of time and repeated criticism any proposal by which a Government is not prepared to stand when it faces the electors? The reconstitutionists may rest easy. The power remaining to the peers is not too little to be regarded. It is too great, by far, to be left permanently in the hands of an irresponsible body of men. If the Lords like to propose an alternative method of accommodation to the House of Commons, which does really give the representative chamber the last word in legislation, the Government, as Lord Morley and the Lord Chancellor hinted, will be ready to consider it. But it must be something far better than the Reconstitution Bill.

THE EMPIRE OF THE FIVE NATIONS.

A NOTION, vague, but fairly general, prevails, to the effect that our self-governing colonies were gradually drifting into complete severance from the Mother Country, that our free Empire was moving towards dissolution, until the tide of Imperialism which rose in the

'eighties reversed this centrifugal tendency, and gathered forces of sentiment and interest to bring about a closer union. The establishment of these periodic Conferences, and the popular attention they receive, are said to be evidence of this change of historic tendency. These colonies, it is suggested, have abandoned their separatist leanings, and are willing—nay, anxious—to come into a closer Imperial co-operation for purposes of commerce, defence, and foreign policy. All that is needed is to find a solid basis of Imperial organisation with which to realise their common purposes.

Now, this view is, in our judgment, quite erroneous. It comes from a misreading of past history and of the present interests and aspirations of the self-governing Dominions. Recent events show no reversal of the earlier tendency towards virtual independence under the British flag, and present no valid evidences of a close Imperial union. A chief service rendered by these Colonial—now "Imperial"—conferences is the convincing proofs they offer of the truth of this assertion. Each Conference goes further than the preceding one in disclosing the impracticability of the early Imperialist vision. It was natural enough that the Preferences which, following the lead of Canada, our Dominions accorded us, should have fostered the hope among Protectionists of a unified commercial Empire, with tariff walls against the outer world, and should even have deceived some Free-traders into supposing that a free-trade empire could be built on the extension of these preferences. The firm and repeated refusal of this nation to place new taxes upon foreign imports, in order to give return preferences to the colonies, is not the only insuperable obstacle to the realisation of Imperial protection. The delusive nature of preferences as an adequate or enduring basis of commercial union is already clear. For, as Canada soon discovered, preference is inconsistent both with so-called scientific protection and with freedom of negotiation. Both in her case and in that of Australia, the real efficacy of the preference was whittled down at the outset by the raising of the protective tariffs on which the preference was reckoned. Then portions of the Canadian preference were withdrawn upon the representations of local industries complaining that the preferential tariff was not high enough to cripple their British competitors. Other fragments were pared off by special trade agreements with Germany and France, carrying reductions to other nations competing with our exporters. And finally, there has appeared the American Reciprocity proposal, which, if, as is tolerably certain, it is carried through, strikes a double blow at the commercial unity of the Empire. On the one hand, it reduces or cancels the preference upon a number of imports into Canada, in the supply of which Great Britain and the United States are competitors. On the other, it places Canada on separate and better terms than the rest of the British Empire for importing goods into the United States. We await with interest Sir Wilfrid Laurier's re-introduction of the Preference resolution affirmed by the Conferences of 1902 and 1907. But neither the theory nor the practice of Preference affords, in our judgment, any solid basis for the commercial union

of the Empire. So long as the Dominions choose to give us preference, we shall, of course, be glad to receive it, and though we cannot reciprocate in kind, we have already given (as Sir Edgar Speyer, in his serviceable paper to the Liberal Colonial Club, reminds us) a very substantial preference of another kind, worth, he considers, not less than ten million pounds a year, in the favored terms upon which we have placed Colonial Securities on our investment market. But our reading of the situation obliges us to regard Colonial Preferences more in the light of passing amenities than of permanent policy. Their endurance and enlargement will be found inconsistent with the liberty and elasticity which the Dominions will require for protection and negotiation.

But, it will be urged, if commercial union be found impracticable, Imperial sentiment and interest will find their realisation in a close defensive and political union. Will they? First, take Imperial defence. It is quite true that the Dominions have now undertaken to relieve us of some of the burden of Imperial defence, which hitherto we bore unaided. Australia is planning a large fleet, which will place her in the front rank of naval Powers, and Canada is equipping herself powerfully for defence by sea and land. The other Dominions, each according to its needs and powers, are following suit. But are these preparations making for unity of Imperial defence? Not so. Canada and Australia have made it quite clear from the outset that they regard their fleet and army primarily as a national equipment for the defence of their own shores, and only secondarily as Imperial defence. They refuse to hand over the control of their forces to Imperial officers, and explicitly reserve the right to say whether they will take part in a conflict waged by the Imperial Government. The occasional presence of Dominion representatives at meetings of the Defence Committee, or the advice and assistance rendered by Imperial officers to Dominion Governments in their plans of national defence, must not deceive us into supposing that in this defensive, any more than in the fiscal, system of the Dominions, Imperial unity is the first consideration. Not the integration, but the disintegration, of Imperial arms is the actual issue of the new movement by which our daughter nations are furnishing the instruments of national defence.

We are entirely free to admit that part of the motives inducing them to undertake their own defence has been a desire to relieve Great Britain of an excessive burden, coupled with a genuine wish to assist the Empire in any peril to which it may be exposed. But, had these motives been predominant, they would have led the five nations to contribute *pro rata*, on some basis of population or trade, to an Imperial army and navy, strengthened by a single purpose and complete unity of control. We do not blame them for reserving full autonomy as to the extent, the nature, and the control of their military and naval preparations. They are right in using them as expressions and instruments of the continued assertion of national independence under the British flag. But this policy, taken with the fuller liberties, freely accorded by this country, of negotiating treaties with foreign States, and of exercising a determining voice in treaties made by the Im-

perial Government in which they are primarily interested, is bound to open up difficult questions of foreign policy. As a "Times" correspondent showed very lucidly the other day, grave international complications might arise from the new situation in which there will be five nations of equal political status, using the same flag, but claiming each a large, if not a complete, autonomy in foreign relations. For it is impossible to deny that the possession of so large a fleet as Australia is contemplating would carry with it an Australian foreign policy. Canada has already carried its treaty-making to a point which is stirring very difficult questions as to the unity of the British Empire as an international State.

All the more need, it will be said, for such an Imperial Council of State as that which Sir Joseph Ward has proposed, and after crushing criticism from all his colleagues, has withdrawn. If our Empire is to hold together and to work with any unity of purpose, it would seem essential that some mode of systematic deliberation and discussion between representatives of the several compact realms must be devised. But the suspicion with which Sir Wilfrid Laurier viewed this proposal in the last Conference has obviously strengthened in the minds of the Premiers attending the present Conference. The proposal of a Council "advisory to the Imperial Government" would clearly have committed the Dominions to a closer responsibility for the Empire as a whole than they would find consistent with that independent nationalism which is their guiding principle. Formal advice involves responsibility. Even had the members of such a Conference been moved by the spirit of enthusiastic loyalty and Imperial fervor to adopt a proposal establishing a new instrument of political government for the Empire, the peoples of these Dominions, when they realised what was conveyed in the acceptance of a "collective trusteeship" for its unfree portions, would have proceeded no further with it. They would have felt that it involved them in unknown hazards, against which their necessarily subordinate position on an Imperial Council could afford them no adequate protection. No; there has never been anything like the Empire of the Five Nations, and if it is to subsist, it must obey the peculiar laws of its being. Its bonds are spiritual and sentimental, not governmental.

THE JUDGES AND PUBLIC MORALS.

"Such decisions are profoundly anti-social, and tell for the degradation of a very large portion of the community; and, above all, they seek to establish as an immutable principle the doctrine that the rights of property are supreme over the rights of humanity."—Theodore Roosevelt, in the "Outlook," on some decisions of American judges.

We do not know whether the English judges realise how greatly recent events have shaken their moral authority in the land, but in the not improbable event of their being unaware of that fact, it is time for the representatives of public opinion to inform them of it. Judges in this country have a very exceptional position. Their general independence of Parliament is a properly

cherished tradition. They are surrounded with an almost medieval dignity. They are little criticised by the press, and it would be difficult to imagine an English statesman saying of them, as Mr. Roosevelt lately said of American judges, that when they were out of sympathy with a "righteous popular movement," or had become a "bar to orderly progress for the right," they must go. They are even credited with an almost miraculous moderation and balance of temper, so much so, that a strong and even notorious partisan is supposed to strip off his politics in the moment when he exchanges the advocate's wig for the judge's. It is safe to say that this semi-deification of the Bench is over for ever. For this movement of opinion the late Lord Chancellor must be held to be, in the main, responsible. He filled the Bench with members of his own party, disregarding the general principle of his predecessors that judges should be appointed, in the first place, with reference to their status and character in their profession, and, in the second place, with regard to their political views. It was impossible that the old idea about the judges should survive this practical demonstration of its absurdity. A man's nature does not, as a matter of fact, change with his passage from one kind of social position and service to another, nor does identification with a party devoted in the main to property fit a man for upholding, late in life, the wider legal and moral rights of a great community.

During the last few years the judges have had to pass through a series of severe tests of human capacity to shake off old habits of thought and to adopt new ones. On the whole they have failed. The conduct of one judge has twice been brought before the House of Commons and severely censured. Another has been involved in an unseemly incident with a political candidate against whom he had pronounced. A powerful party in the State has declared that in the range of judgments which concerns its liberties and claims, it has lost confidence in the Bench. Perhaps the fault here has lain with the law almost as much as with those who interpret it. It is more difficult to find excuses for the series of decisions which have torn up an Act of State specially designed to excise a cancerous taint in its representative system. If one of the greatest of all thinkers was right in founding his idea of the State on an argument for justice, and if modern democracy consists in the clear expression of the will of the whole people, uninfluenced by wealth, then the lawyers of to-day have gone far to do what their predecessors did in Judæa, and take away from us the "key of knowledge" and of social security.

Let us at once say that the judgment of Mr. Justice Channell and Mr. Justice Bucknill in the East Nottingham election petition is not conspicuously worse than those which preceded it, and made it plausible. It simply puts a last approving seal on the rich man's power to corrupt a poor man's will, and to deprive his vote of all intellectual and moral value; while it marks down a certain type of constituency as the sure spoil of wealth. What was it that Captain Morrison did, and that the judges who tried him found to be legally blameless and even laudable? Let us describe

it largely in their own words, presuming that the case, as a whole, revealed a complete and horrifying debauch of the constituency by the use of money, so much so that one of the tasks of these gentlemen was to say whether over one hundred poor and shameless persons were in a conspiracy (a) to get money by lying and false pretences, and then to ruin the petitioner's case by confessing their infamy in Court, or (b) to take bribes and then to perjure themselves by denying the act and repudiating their confession of it. Such was the moral atmosphere of the East Nottingham case. What was the part that Captain Morrison's money admittedly played in it? Last year, he, the sitting member and expected candidate, made a number of direct money gifts to his constituents during a period of unemployment. He did this in a way best calculated to advertise his candidature. He did not deal with institutions, charitable or philanthropic; he did not use them even as agents of his doles. In the main he confined these gifts to his constituency, with which he had no connection by birth or natural interest. He enclosed them in his agent's electoral notepaper. He dated them from the rooms of his Electoral Association. He had them signed by his agent. All was done, said the judge, and "intentionally so done," that the recipients "should know that the donor was Captain Morrison, member for the borough, and a probable candidate at the next election." No regard was had to politics—that is to say, possible Liberal voters and residents were relieved, as well as Tory ones, an obviously wise stroke of policy for the almoner. Indeed, said the judge, the Captain "recognised that this charity would bring him popularity, which would be likely to assist him at any future election," and "he was not unwilling that this result would follow." Here Mr. Justice Channell involved himself in some inconsistency, for, according to the report in the "Nottingham Evening Post," he said in one place that there was "not the slightest ground" for saying that, though Captain Morrison and his agent wished for "popularity," they also "hoped to get the votes of many of the recipients," he admitted in another that they both "inferred" that "popularity and votes would probably be gained from his charity." But we need not labor this trifle. Popularity, we may assume, was the abstract general sentiment which Captain Morrison desired to evoke; votes were its concrete practical expression, without which the ideal fervor which East Nottingham might feel for him would be valueless. As a matter of fact, he evoked both, on a scale unknown in East Nottingham. What of that? What was really important was Captain Morrison's "governing motive"; and this, concluded the two judges, was "real charity." Nay, more: the imputed righteousness of Captain Morrison descended in a saving stream on his agent, Mr. Berryman. This gentleman did seem to be sailing a little nearer the wind than his principal, if we may use so mundane a phrase in so celestial a matter. He might not, said the judge, have the "same motives for charity as his principal," he might even have a "clearer idea of the probable effect of what was being done." No matter; a stream crystal-pure at its source cannot be

contaminated by any comparatively muddy water it meets on its travels. "The governing motive of Mr. Berryman," said the judge, "must be regarded as being the same in carrying out his master's wishes in regard to his charity." Thus do transcendental logic and common worldliness meet and kiss each other. Captain Morrison may not have the tongues of men and angels; he was sufficiently blest in possessing Mr. Justice Channell's recipe for "real charity."

What is one to say to this official tampering with the moral currency, this linking of the most sacred word in Christendom with doles given in gross publicity for an admitted personal and material end, and through machinery ostensibly existing, not for the relief of social distress, but for the moulding of political opinion? Was it Mr. Justice Channell's survey, through the medium of the law courts, of human nature in its average expression which led him to associate the most cloistered of virtues with a brazen act that "vaunted itself" through every means of advertisement open to the donor, and expressed its evident purpose in every one of its accompanying methods and incidents? Or did his knowledge of the unspeakable demoralisation of the constituency lead him to imagine that such a white-winged thing as "charity" really hovered over the roofs of Tyler-street, East Nottingham? We may well ask what justice exists for, if these are its thoughts and purposes. It can only be for the exaction of the mint and cummin of the law, to the neglect of its weightier matters. We can have the most meticulous care for electoral rectitude when, as in the East Dorset petition, the representation of a constituency may be held to hang on whether the relative of a candidate rightly or wrongly employed a single motor car; but when money enters in a broad, polluting stream, sweeping away men's judgments, and sending wretched, ill-fed people half-mad with the passion to intercept some drops of it, the keepers of the law can only murmur a discreet applause. There is only one answer; a code of public morals lies shattered, and it must be repaired and fortified by the power that, happily, is above even judges.

THE MECHANISM OF ARBITRATION.

If a British Foreign Secretary, bent on achieving the completion of our civilisation by concluding with some Power an obligatory treaty of arbitration, had been free to look about him and make his choice for the great experiment, it would be a curious speculation to inquire to what nation he would naturally have turned. There are the lesser and quasi-neutral peoples of the Continent, who would have welcomed such an opportunity with ready enthusiasm. Denmark, indeed, has already asked us to make this bond of perpetual peace with her. But, fortunate as such an arrangement would be, it is hardly with a Power which does not rank among the world's combatant forces that the first great step would naturally be taken in concert. A little nation which concluded such a treaty with a great Power would rather be thought to have sheltered itself under its protection than to have given an example which more powerful

peoples might imitate. A cynical world would consider that she had done well for itself, while of us it would say that we had secured a flattering tribute to our position in Europe. If such a treaty is to mark a real epoch in the better organisation of international relations, it must be adopted by two Powers which are equals, two Powers which might conceivably be driven into war. It is a tempting suggestion that the experiment might have been inaugurated by Britain and France. In spite of the differences in temper and in international position, there are no two democracies better formed for mutual understanding and trust. But here again the very closeness of their relationship would have detracted somewhat from the significance of the treaty. Allies do not go to war with one another, and our ties with France approximate to an alliance. France and Russia, Germany and Austria, are bound by no treaty of arbitration, but the intimacy of their intercourse, so long as their alliances persist, has banished the bare possibility of war more effectually than any act of renunciation.

The necessity for making a choice did not arise. Mr. Taft's invitation settled the priority of the United States. Nothing could be more natural than such a treaty between the two branches of one race, nor can it lead, save in minds of a perverted ingenuity, to the suspicions which would have assailed a similar approach to any European Power. But the official summary of the draft treaty which has been issued in Washington, goes to show that, in dealing with the United States, the formidable obstacle of the Senate is still the governing factor. The exact mechanism of the Treaty cannot be understood in all its details until its authentic wording is before us. But there seems to be little room for misunderstanding the part which the Senate will play in its working. The Treaty is an advance on every previous instrument of its kind, in so far as it recognises matters of honor and vital interest as suitable subjects for arbitration. No criticism or regret which its details may call forth can obscure the vast services which the deliberate surrender of these consecrated exceptions has wrought to the cause of peace. The mechanism which charges an International Commission composed of plenipotentiaries of the two Powers, drawn from the panel of The Hague Tribunal, with the preliminary study of major questions in dispute is a useful development of existing institutions. It provides in the first place for an obligatory period of delay. While this study is proceeding, passions will have time to cool, and the sensational Press, which never pursues one cry with much persistence, will have forgotten its mood of mischief months before the crucial moment can arrive.

The provision which charges this Commission with the task of arranging the appropriate form of arbitration is also well conceived. There are endless variations in the exact type of arbitration or mediation, by which a dispute can be settled through the intervention of some impartial mind, and it will lie with this experienced and responsible Court to assign the proper procedure. But the clause which in each dispute submits the arrangements for arbitration reached by these Commissioners to the ratification of the Senate can

only be described as a vital flaw in the treaty. While that clause subsists, it cannot be described as an obligatory treaty of arbitration. The value of such a treaty lies in this, that it is a law imposed in cold blood, on universal grounds, upon all the detailed and criminal impulses of anger and interest which any particular conflict may arouse. It is the sacrosanct commandment, the Moral Imperative which is to speak with an unquestioned authority in the moment of temptation. To arm the Senate with a power of frustrating its application in every special instance is to rob the principle of universal arbitration of half its value. No calculation could be based on so frail a foundation. One would know in advance that sectional interests, powerful Trusts, mob-orators, and "yellow" journalists would still have in their hands the possibility of frustrating a resort to arbitration. In estimating armaments and fixing programmes, it could never be assumed, while the Senate retains this right, that war had been eliminated for ever between ourselves and the States.

Probability, we gladly admit, is against a misuse of this privilege. The pressure of sane opinion, the views and authority alike of the United States Government and the House of Representatives, would make overwhelmingly for peace. The Senate, at the worst, could only delay arbitration; it could not enforce war. But with all these deductions, the defect of the Treaty remains a grave bar to its usefulness. It is not on this side of the Atlantic that the defect can be removed. We must leave the Americans to deal with their own Senate. But while the Treaty can only be hailed as an enormous advance towards civilisation, we must none the less recognise it fails to make a perfect model of what such an instrument should be, and leaves to the future the full completion of the splendid work which Sir Edward Grey has so well begun.

THE HOUSE AND THE INSURANCE BILL.

THE House of Commons is never less superficially interesting than when the great motive of party is veiled or withdrawn, and you see it for what it is worth as a truly representative body. Whatever the stage of the Bill it is discussing, it at once assumes the form of a committee. The orators desert it; the silent assiduity of the Whips, flitting between the Treasury Bench and the lobbies and living rooms of the House, seems to cease too. But the experts come to the front, and it will soon be possible to gather where the opinion that tells is massed, and what direction it is likely to take. The general sense of the House has, indeed, been quite brilliantly clear. The Bill, with its intricate network of calculations, provisions, and commands, winding in and out of the still vaster complexities of the national life, is simple in its governing design. It is not for nothing that the quickest and most adroit mind in England has spent laborious nights and days on the work of construction and negotiation. The Bill emerges a well-conceived, well rounded, highly ingenious, and, it would seem, a financially water-tight scheme. The great plunge has been made, and the German example of a public and universal scheme of provision for sickness adapted to our own people. Granted this principle—and it is a tremendous admission—the use of the friendly societies as the backbone of the scheme is seen to be inevitable. Political and economic shipwreck must have followed an attempt to work with-

out them or against them. All recognise that this governing idea is sound, and most see with strong approval the skilful, half-revealed, half-concealed methods for stimulating their work, enlarging their benefits, adding to the range of their membership, and checking inefficiency and slovenliness in management. Will those methods go too far, or just far enough? Will they be too Socialistic—will they take the life out of these societies, and pave the way for a State organisation, or will Mr. George's flexible scheme of social amelioration be gradually and successfully woven into the two great organisations—the doctors and the friendly societies—on which it calls? The House is inclined to determine the greater questions of policy in a sense favorable to the Bill. There are those who consider it a great leap in the dark. There are others who predict for it immediate, if not ultimate, unpopularity.

And there is a great mass of members who have hardly begun to think about it. How will it work? Will the large bodies of citizens, such as clerks and shop-assistants, and railway workers, who live under a general trade system that yields them full wages in case of short periods of sickness, stand to gain or lose by the Bill? No one is quite certain. Or take the case of Ireland. There the town-workers are enthusiasts for the Bill, and the great mass of the farmers are exempt. There remain the laborers employed by the larger farmers. Both these classes are a little anxious. What will happen? Will the laborers pay their premiums, or will they be strong enough to get the farmers to pay them? Again, will the general policy of insurance tend to stereotype wages, under the arrangement that limits benefits to two-thirds of the laborer's hire? No—Yes—are the replies. So talk among members runs. Their correspondence has hardly informed them. It has come mostly from the doctors and from the obviously engineered protests of the agents of collecting societies. But two strains of opinion make for an acceptance of the Bill. The Conservative thinks it savours as much of Tory as of Radical democracy. He sees an element of paternalism in the relations it sets up between master and man, which fits in with his rather cloudy vision of society, and even seems to bring the new Protection a little nearer. On the other hand, the Radical is attracted by the ameliorative doctrine and practice of the Bill and its provision of a great coming fortification of the physical life of the nation, and he is in full sympathy with the policy of using State resources for that purpose. These are large assets; and they are all engaged on behalf of the Bill. Moreover, while the friendly societies' general support is assured, there are signs of a real acquiescence on the part of the employers. This view is firmly embodied in a conversation I had with an enlightened member of their class, who has a representative position in the House of Commons. "The Bill," he said, "will cost me about £1,000 a year. But I welcome it. The workman has not had quite his proper share of the improved trading of the last few years, and it is often hard for him to get it on account of the fineness with which profits are now cut. In the end, something of the new charge will be passed on to the consumer; what is not passed will properly remain with the employer." This is a fairly general attitude.

Where, then, does the main line of criticism chiefly appear? Let me turn to the structure of the Bill. Its weak point, said Sir Thomas Whittaker, in a very powerful supporting speech, lies in the deposit system arranged for the Post Office contributors, and that again is a consequence of the decision to work through the friendly societies. This reacts in several ways. The doctors are nervous. They have never enjoyed their relationship with the friendly societies. Now this is strengthened, and in addition they have thrown upon them the responsibility for the thousands of bad lives which the societies have rejected. Their support is a matter of terms, and the arrangement of an average and fair capitation fee. Their loyal co-operation is essential to the success of the Bill, and the money difficulty will, probably, be settled without breaking its finance. But now comes

the other great sphere of workmen's organisations, the trade unions. As sick insurers, their initial position is hardly so strong as that of the "friendlies," and by a possible slip in the drafting of Clause 18, a provision aimed at distributing societies, and another dealing with the smaller bodies, seem to exclude a large number of trade unions from the category of "approved" societies. If this were so, trade unionists would not care to become mere Post-Office contributors, and their officials would fear a steady pull from them to the Friendly Society, with its improving and probably enlarging array of State benefits. This is probably the main key to Mr. Barnes's hesitancy on Wednesday night. Perhaps it is felt more among the older than among the younger unionists; certainly the fear of a weakening in the attraction, direct and indirect, of the great fighting and defensive forces of organised labor exists in the Parliamentary Party, and will be pressed on the Chancellor's always receptive mind.

As he sits on the Treasury Bench, smiling and gay after his incessant toils, watchful for his great and darling project, and eager to scent every prosperous or adverse breeze, it is natural and wise for him to desire its speedy passage through the Commons. But his hopes, and the hopes of its many friends, must rest on the passage of an essentially agreed Bill; agreed within the House and substantially agreed without. All the lines of criticism I have briefly indicated are those of friends. The doctors, for example, would probably welcome an extension to their new sphere of contract-practice of the preventive element which the new sanatoria provide. The best of the great town municipalities, progressive and very ambitious for social advance, may naturally feel jealous of the new Health Committees. But they can be won over by an adaptation of the machinery of the Bill. The workmen can hardly expect to get a new nest-egg for their fighting funds from the State contributions to sick insurance; but they will rightly press for a smoother path to admission as approved societies than the Bill seems to afford. Trade Unionism has built the most astonishing political and Parliamentary power on the German insurance system; it ought not to fail with the more fluid and adaptive machinery of this Bill. The Chancellor will probably desire to concentrate criticism on the broad, salient features of the Bill, and unless the House is to lose itself in a thicket of details, some such concentration is necessary. But if haste is good, too much haste would be bad, and would defeat itself. The Opposition is mild and placable; and the great social experiment of our time should pass. But it should pass with benisons on its head, and with as full and wise a preparation of the people's mind for the kind of *Vita Nuova* to which it summons them as the Chancellor and his colleagues can supply.

H. W. M.

Life and Letters.

LOVE AND MARRIAGE.

It takes a rare combination of intelligence and temper to get respectful consideration for an extreme position of reform in the relations of the sexes. However guarded the advocate may deem himself, he seldom gets far before he taps, unawares, some hidden reservoir of passion which, surging over the field of controversy, buries all the landmarks of reason under the tide of emotion. Even the comparatively superficial issue of the political franchise, which might appear capable of discussion and solution on plain principles of democracy without any stirring of the sexual depths, is seen to excite counter-currents of emotional excitement exceeding any other of our time. But under the sedate formalism of the Royal Commission upon Divorce there lurk potentialities of still fiercer fanaticism. An instinctive apprehension of this truth has underlain the persistent refusal of most men

and women in this country to admit, even to the privacy of their own souls, that the existing structure of marriage, the home, and the family, has any considerable defects or is capable of serious amendment. Every other social institution must change to conform with the new requirements of modern life and thought; radical reforms are found essential in the foundations of our political and industrial order; religion itself is matter of continual evolution; but there must be no "tampering" with the family. The ideal of the English home as a life-long loving union of husband and wife, bound by affectionate regard for one another and for their children, all dwelling together in harmony, the man going out into the world as bread-winner, the woman tending the home and caring for the young, has always dwelt as an inspiring influence in our national life. But it would be idle to deny that this ideal has of late been growing in some respects more remote from the reality. Slow and silent changes, both of fact and of sentiment, have been taking place. The farm, the domestic workshop, and other forms of home industrial life, in which all members of the family, according to their capacities, partook, have disappeared or shrunk into insignificance as factors of our national life. The old self-sufficiency of the family for providing by mutual aid all the requirements of its members is abandoned. Wider co-operation and State-aid enter in.

Public opinion rightly regards these as exceptional cases. But there can be no question but that two strong and growing currents of feeling, one making for the liberation of married women from the too despotic power of the husband, the other for the fostering and development of childlife, are gathering force among all sections of enlightened citizens. Though even among fairly-educated people there remains a blend of self-complacency and prurieny to overcome, the moral atmosphere is so far clearing that it becomes possible to secure recognition and guarded discussion for vital questions of sex and heredity which but a few years ago were taboo. The bolder tone of our recent novelists and playwrights is both a testimony and a contribution to this change of attitude. But, for a people so steeped as we are in a traditional sense of the unreality or levity of art and literature, it is doubtful whether the stage and the novel are the best vehicles for an honest exploration of these hitherto forbidden topics. Until our "serious" and "practical" thinkers and teachers can be induced to ponder clearly and discuss fearlessly even the most radical proposals relating to marriage and the family, the deeper significance of the new situation will not be realised.

Some of the outer features of the situation are indeed fairly clear. The claim of women to political and economic independence will carry with it a corresponding claim to equal rights with men in the narrower structure of family and home. Free women probably will repudiate even more insistently the subordination expressed in the marriage service of our churches, and enforced by custom in the home. They are likely to insist upon retaining in the married union full rights over their person and property, and, where divergence of judgment arises, a prior claim on matters relating to the offspring of the union, in virtue of the closer nature of maternity. Confronted by the fact that their weaker economic position would largely nullify any formal security of these rights which the law might accord, keeping them still in real subjection to the purse-holder, they may demand wages of maternity and housewifery, as part of the marriage compact, and facilities of divorce in case the union becomes no longer tolerable. If this crude statement seems to represent the married relation too much as an armed truce, or at best as an experiment in partnership, ignoring the binding and unifying forces of love, affection, comradeship, and common interests, which marriage should normally imply, it is replied that the main problem with which we are here concerned is that of the strains to which the marriage union is liable in the many instances where these bonds do not exist or have been impaired. It would be idle to deny that these cases of permanent estrangement and discord in married life are numerous,

and that the growth of education and of sensibility alike among men and women is likely to increase them. Those who would dispute this have not considered sufficiently the view of the emotional situation which is presented with such depth of penetration and refinement of sympathy by Miss Ellen Key, a well-known Swedish writer, in a new work, "Love and Marriage" (Putnam), which, in our judgment, is a contribution of the first importance to the problem we are discussing.

When we say that the writer advocates a liberty of divorce upon such easy terms as to amount to what is known as a "Free Union," we are afraid that many readers will be deterred by a proposal which will seem at once immoral and impracticable. But they will be needlessly offended. Miss Key's solution of the problem does certainly present difficulties which may appear insuperable. But her setting of it is so instructive that it cannot fail to interest profoundly even those who disagree most strongly with her conclusions. For the whole tenor of the case is argued in the interests of love itself, as interpreted by the psychology of modern civilised men and women, no longer content with marriage as a brief honeymoon of passion, followed by disillusionment, and settling down into a makeshift partnership of torpid feeling for the rearing of a family and the maintenance of a home. This seemed tolerable to bygone generations, when love had evolved little beyond the animal stage, when the authority of the "master of the house" was rudely exercised and submissively accepted by wife and children, and when peace, kindness, and a fair measure of good feeling among the members of the family were purchased on these terms. But now that the wife and children are to have wills, feelings, and interests of their own, personalities and characters to be freely and intricately cultivated within the home, the former marriage relation is no longer a sufficient basis. Unless real love and many-sided sympathy and understanding exist between husband and wife, the home is no place of peace and goodwill, no happy rearing ground for children, but an abode of coldness or of active strife. It is upon the ground of the more complex spiritual needs of modern marriage and the home that Miss Key bases her claim for freedom of divorce. The notion that unions might be dissolved for mere incompatibility of temper sounds no doubt a frivolous proposal, little better than a cloak for licence. And yet beneath this soft-sounding word "incompatibility" may lurk discords and spiritual agonies, which may poison lives and degrade characters beyond redemption. People make mistakes, miscalculations, in their marriages: they should bear them, one is told, submitting to the inevitable, if not for their own sake, then for that of their children and for society. But do these children gain, does society gain, by holding together two persons who, so far as their own happiness is concerned, are better apart?

Such are the questions raised by Miss Key. She dwells upon the changeable nature of modern personality, the product not of caprice, but of the normal evolution of interests and dispositions. Two personalities, though encompassed within the same home, surrounded by the same environment, may grow wide apart. Other attachments may replace the old, not by licentious choice, but by genuine affinity of nature. In such cases, she urges, love has rights which may claim satisfaction even at the cost of sundering the bonds of a union, the spiritual nature of which is already dead. "In the ideas of the Church, the incapacity for marriage of one party freed the other from the duty of fidelity. In the more spiritual view of the future, it will be equally evident that the same right exists to dissolve a marriage which has remained unconsummated in a spiritual sense; and there may be just as many possibilities of incapacity to fulfil the spiritual claims of marriage as there are men and women; therefore, also just as many causes for divorce." This conception of a marriage as self-condemned and spiritually null, where it does not achieve and maintain an inward harmony of wills and purposes, lies undoubtedly at the root of the demand for a relaxation of marriage laws among the

more enlightened members of every civilised nation today. This more delicate and difficult aspect of the problem appears hardly to have penetrated the Divorce Commission, which has virtually confined its attention to the cruder and more tangible defects of marital relations. But it will make itself felt with growing insistence, as woman, usually the more sensitive sufferer from the subtler forms of discord or cruelty, comes to wield a fuller influence upon law and custom. The practical remedies advocated in this book appear to us too sweeping. They make no sufficient provision for the interests of the offspring of a marriage, and might present an easy cover for the heartless vagaries of a mere voluptuary. But the eloquent plea for the recognition of the rights of love as the foundation of true marriage, and for the violation of these rights as constituting in itself the best ground for dissolution, cannot fail to make a powerful impression upon all who realise that progress consists essentially in the continuous moulding of outward forms into consistency with inner meanings.

"THINK WHAT HE'S SEEN!"

THE scene was as British as a patriot could desire. Surrey trees stood in the full brilliance of spring. A little river curled round a meadow, and beyond rose the chalk cliff of a down. On the lawn of a country house, just outside the country town, the great people of the county, and some of the great people of the nation, had gathered. They stood in groups of quiet men and well-dressed women, and there was a tent for tea. But this was no mere garden party. In the paddock beyond the railings, the public of the town and countryside crowded gazing, and they gazed most at the single figures or inevitable grouping of officers in uniforms so seldom seen—officers with famous names in war. Happy was the man who could point them out and affix the victories, even wrongly, to each, while the people gazed. And there, drawn up in line before two great pavilions where more tea simmered, stood a whole company of Territorials, with their deadly rifles ordered. And in smaller tents the Boy Scouts acted the wounded, lying on comfortable stretchers, while nurses of the Reserve bandaged them from head to foot with motherly solicitude, or practised military needlework and cutting-out, with generals looking on to see if they did it right. And in the midst a band of Regulars, engaged from Aldershot, sounded its brass and wood and parchment.

It was a British scene, but military, and presently the new department of the British Army, for the sake of which all had gathered there, began to arrive. By companies and battalions they came, as the trains brought them up from all the towns and many of the villages in the beautiful county. Marching in fours they came—ordinary-looking men in the common coats and trousers, the cloth caps or bowlers, of townsmen, laborers, grooms, and the usual "civvies." Ordinary-looking men, but how they marched! Heads up, shoulders back, feet in step, the left down to the throb of the drum, smart as on an anvil. And how those common coats were illumined by flashes of ribbon on the breast—crimson and green, crimson and blue, red blue and yellow, white and blue, solid crimson, yellow white and blue—what combinations, telling of the Khyber, of Kabul and Kandahar, of Tirah and Chitral, of the Nile and Khartoum, of China and Peking, of the veldt, Ladysmith, the Tugela Heights, and Diamond Hill! On that meadow round which the little river curled they formed up in double column, by companies beside the placards which bore the names of their homes.

There they stood—the men who had gone so far and seen so much—2,250 of them in all, including the old volunteers who had faithfully served their length of training. There they stood and waited, till, followed by those officers with famous names, the most famous and best-beloved soldier of the country appeared, and the veteran officers, bringing their walking-sticks or umbrellas smartly to "the carry" as swords, called the companies to attention in succession, while the little Field Marshal inspected front and rear ranks, man by man. Among the

officers with famous names in flashing uniforms, strolled an ex-Prime Minister, charmingly nonchalant, airily admiring, in soft hat and brown suit. With them went also the distinguished London editor and county gentleman whose fine idea of a Veteran Reserve was thus realised before all eyes. Among the chosen spectators, in face of the columns, sat the sister of the eminent philosopher and man of letters who is the Minister of War. If you had skimmed England, you could not have found a more truly British scene than that parade of Veterans at Guildford, last Saturday afternoon.

But in the midst of it all, suddenly and for a moment, came a Roman touch. Slim and erect, but a little stiff with his eighty years, his blue eyes pale with age and sun, the Field Marshal, in his trim, grey overcoat, mounted a low platform and addressed the Veterans in a thin, clear voice. The rest of the address, upon the service of a Veteran Reserve to the country, was issued to the papers, but there was one sentence which we have not seen reported. It was hurried over in the British fashion. "He had noticed," said the Field Marshal—"he had noticed from the medals how many of the men had served with him before." There was no rhetoric in the words, no attempt at display, nothing of the Napoleonic "Soldiers, whom I have led through infinite perils so many times to victory!" There was only just a touch of something in the words that made one realise, as though with surprise, that this little old figure in the grey coat was the very same man who had known Delhi, Lucknow, and Cawnpore in the terrible days long before most of the people on the meadow were born; who had known Abyssinia, and Afghanistan and Burma, and had found the way to Bloemfontein when others failed. There was a simplicity about it such as Caesar might have shown, if he had lived to be old, and had been called upon to address the Veterans of the Tenth Legion. But to every veteran there who had stood under that little man's command, or had served at his side, it went straight home.

Not that the Surrey Veterans are old, or that life has become to them a mere memory. The average age on parade was not over thirty-five, and a man who is not as fit to fight up to forty-five or fifty as he was at twenty-five, probably has only himself or an unwholesome industry to thank for it. In an article upon M. Jaurès' "Nouvelle Armée," last week, we pointed out the mistake that is made in other armies beside our own—the mistake of relying for the "Line," or main body of the active army, upon immature youths of twenty, or a little more or less. For all purposes of national defence, as apart from aggression, the mature and trained man, even after he has returned to civil life, makes a better soldier than the children in arms whom descriptive historians and romantic authorities attempt to palm off as the nation in arms. In any of the great Continental armies, it would be found, on the declaration of war, that half the "Line," which would probably go into action first, had done less than a year's training, and were under twenty. Let us take the case for the "Line" at its best. Speaking in the Reichstag on November 23rd, 1892, the Chancellor Caprivi, who had succeeded Bismarck, said:—

"I will not add to the strife between Line and Landwehr. I will merely compare different stages in the life of the same man. At twenty-two he is in the Line at the moment of mobilisation; at thirty-two he is at home. The young private is set free from barrack life. He forgets the dark side of things. All seems to him lighter and more poetic than perhaps it really is. But at thirty-two he is married, has children, has set up a business. Within twenty-four hours he must report himself. Everything at home is left to go as it will. He reaches barracks; has a uniform tried on; the boots pinch, the knapsack galls his shoulder, the collar is too tight. Instead of white bread he gets black. He hears from home; his wife pours out her lamentations; care settles down on him. The Landwehr is united with the Line. Early in the morning the troops leave camp. The poor man trudges along under the unaccustomed weight of his equipment. Then the firing begins. The attack is made by rushes, and this elderly gentleman has to run forward, throw himself on his belly, and fire. So he goes on till evening, tired and hungry. The man who can do all this at twenty-two will do it at thirty-two to the utmost of his power. But the self-sacrifice and waste of strength is ten times greater."

That speech was made with a view to increasing the "Line," and twenty years ago it may have been partly

true of Germany. One used to know that "elderly gentleman of thirty-two," and the mention of his belly is significant. But it would not be true of the athletic Germany of to-day, nor, we believe, of any other country, least of all of our own. Youth and manhood have moved further up the scale of years, and nearly every Englishman who has lived a fairly healthy and self-restrained life is capable of greater exertion and endurance between thirty and forty than between twenty and thirty. There is the growth of his brain and character also to be considered—so important a factor in modern war. And as to his home interests and family or other affections, in a really defensive war they will only increase his zeal and determination to maintain his country's security and freedom. Our own soldiers submit to a longer continuous service than in Continental armies. After the first two years they are probably better, man for man, have more versatility, and are more accustomed to change, though their inborn intelligence is perhaps lower, because they are usually recruited from the unemployed. But in most cases we have done with them by thirty, and hardly any are counted, even in the reserve, at thirty-five. They disappear into "civil life," and all they have learnt is lost to the country's service. It was not so that Rome made her legions. Her service extended from seventeen to forty-six or fifty, and the terrible "Third Line" was composed of true veterans alone. To wipe out this reproach, the idea of the Veteran Reserve, spreading from Surrey, is now being extended to all other counties. If the Veterans rise to 30,000, as they easily may, they could, at the lowest, release an equal number of Territorials from garrison duty at a time of defensive crisis. As Sir Ian Hamilton said to a spectator at last Saturday's parade, this success is but another blow to the idea that compulsion in this country is necessary or possible.

But below the chance of service to the country, there lies the certainty of deeper and finer service to the men themselves. There is no such comradeship as springs from dangers faced together. Officers enjoy it in their clubs, in anniversary dinners, or the casual meetings of travel. Working men as a rule lose it, living as they do scattered about the country, often isolated, and without much chance of movement. Even a fool or a scoundrel who has been under fire with you in battle becomes endeared. The feeling is not rational. We cannot analyse the cause, unless it is that peril brings us all down to the common basis of humanity upon which all men are expected to love each other, though they seldom do. Perhaps the thought comes in that in an old comrade-in-arms one has a witness to one's own prowess and importance in former days. And then, to have fought for a high cause, to have risked life and all, to have stood the test without too obviously flinching—what a guarantee of character, of nerve, and a trustworthy nature! No bond of friendship could be more secure. And does anyone suppose that those Surrey Veterans from the fields and shops were not conscious of an elation—a glow of comradeship—a heightened confidence in themselves and others, as they stood side by side upon the meadow in their ordinary clothes, but with medals on their breasts? They had seen strange things together in other lands than Surrey; they had heard the wings of death; they had been in queer places with that little man in the grey coat; and now they could bear witness to it all in the ranks once more. From the daily round, the common task, the servile labor among people who never knew them at their best, what a transfiguration!

THE CHOIR INVISIBLE.

THE perching birds have so thoroughly disappeared under the leaves of complete spring that we must know them by their voices to know them at all. There is a pollard oak, the crown of which makes no mean room wherein to sit and read a book. The boughs, merely fifty years old, shoot up from the secular trunk like trees themselves, and, together with a certain spot in the hedge below, constitute a world to a pair of willow

wrens. Here they come every few minutes to gather caterpillars, and here the male sometimes gives way to song a little shorter than his April solo to show that he is whistling almost while he works. Though the oak is the last of our trees to burgeon, the leaves are already so thick that it is difficult to see a reflection of the mouse-like movements of the willow wrens, and you can never see the cock when he is singing. The blackbird sang in the ash till it smothered him with its green, and the thrush, having given up the last attempt to let all the world know that it is he, sings like the others, unseen.

Hundreds of people have heard the nightingale for every one who has seen it, and there is the widest divergence of opinion as to its size, shape, and color. Those who have only known it from the picture of an elegant and pathetic bird dreamily silhouetted against a full moon wonder what that red bird can be that, with cocked tail and perfect fury of manner, dashes out from the thicket and in again almost before you have seen it. Still more puzzled are they when, from the depth of a hedge at mid-day, comes a portion of that song so admirably verbalised by the French peasant:—

Le bon Dieu m'a donné une femme,
Que j'ai tant, tant, tant battu.
S'il me donnera une autre,
Je ne la battrai plus, plus, plus,
Qu'un petit.

He has his twilight all day long under the leaves. Perhaps he is the daylight singing-master to the garden warbler and the whitethroat, perhaps he has learned a little from them, though if some notes are borrowed either way, they are dissolved in an individual alchemy that makes the song of each entirely its own. Especially is that seen when there rattles through the branches the crisp and tumultuous clatter that the initiate knows for the song of the blackcap. The blackcap is Ireland's nightingale. It occupies the western and northern country, to which the nightingale does not go, but it also challenges the world of song throughout nightingale-land. It belongs quite evidently to the whitethroat school of music. There is nothing of the softer sentiments about the blackcap's song. It is rather in the style of "heroes' hot corpses heaped high for my pillow." It is a sunshine song, and the bird will sing it to you perched on an open twig, its head bent low and forward, as though it were prepared to charge at a moment's notice. Another has been singing from the prosaic stand of a telegraph wire this morning, very much to the neglect, perhaps, of his household duties.

The blackcap's song is pure music, but the whitethroat is surely a serio-comic. He can sing the family trill with anyone, but in order to show you that he thinks little of it, he intersperses it with "churs" and "pshahs" like spoken swearwords in the middle of an operatic song. "Heroes' hot corpses (I'll show yeh) heaped high for my pillow," he seems to sing and shout. He puffs out his throat till he seems to wag a beard; he sings flying and, apparently, in the midst of fly-catching; he soars like the meadow pipit, or like the ball that dances on a jet of water; he dashes back into his hedge quite unexpectedly, and you have no idea when or where he is coming out. The whitethroat, the orange-tip butterfly, and a hedge smothered in fool's parsley, make the essential picture of a summer day, and when the sun shines hot there is something almost physically cooling in those odd noises with which the whitethroat sprinkles contempt on his really wonderful powers of song.

Some would think that the wryneck must be a pupil of the nightingale. Its sweet and pensive "tiu-tiu-tiu-tiu-tiu-tiu" resembles the "plus-plus-plus" of the nightingale, though it leads to nothing further. That is the whole song of the wryneck, a quiet note of content that, because it is also a little sad, some have called a shriek, whence they have scientifically christened the bird the shrieker. What has a woodpecker to do with a song like that? It is a laugh, a silvery ripple of laughter (through tears) by comparison with the guffaw of the "laughing yaffle" but still a laugh. It would probably be found to resemble a little closely the song of the North American "flicker" if

the two birds could be brought to sing side by side. The flicker is the rain-bird, as the yaffle is our rain-bird, and calls "wet, wet, wet," apparently seven times, just as the wryneck does. The voices of the birds are as certain an index to their family relationship as their plumage, habits, or anatomy. The ancient Britons carved stones to let posterity know where they had been. The stones have perished, but we know today the descendants of the ancient Britons from their peculiar way of pronouncing certain words taken by them, in common with others, from the Roman tongue. And by its song, the chaffinch claims a relationship to the buntings apparently closer than the anatomist is disposed to allow. The yellow bunting sings all day long and every day its very modest demand for bread-and-no-cheese, the chaffinch sings about something or other and "cheer" which might almost as well be "cheese," the greenfinch, which men will have is a green linnet, sings, almost as continuously as the yellow-hammer, "cheese" and nothing else. The brambling, whose summer home is in Norway, but who has been detained here in an aviary, makes the same family demand, and the snow-bunting, the most alpine of all our winter birds, has for its call "a stifled scream."

The meadow pipits play a game of their own of "hidden in sight." As soon as we come into the field they begin scolding us, and if we stayed there all day they would not leave off. It is not easy to tell whether there are ten of them or only two. The cry, which is something like the clinking of two stones, comes now from this side, now from the other, now near, now far, and yet no bird may have moved meanwhile, and there may be but one bird calling. There are grey stones everywhere, and on one of them a grey bird is sitting and cheating us with the most elusive sound in nature. It is the sound used in the game wherein a blind-folded person has to guess in what direction another is clinking two half-crowns together. Most of the young birds have it, whether in the nest or sitting invisible on twigs, and calling for the food they ought to be learning to catch. The young robins of a second brood are sitting in the garden, invisible, on spade handles and fence rails, and calling from every place where they are not. The young blackbirds have the trick, and sit in even more conspicuous places almost as invisible as the robins.

The turtle dove croons and croons in a maple thicket all day, but he must go very softly and have keen eyes who would see it on its perch. The crooning stops before we are half-way across the field, but the bird often sits tight till we begin to part the leaves. We cannot always have the satisfaction of seeing it fly off. Though it belongs to a tribe with a clattering flight, it often manages to steal away without being either seen or heard. Still more elusive is the nightjar, sitting silent till nearly trodden on by day, and at eve droning out its elusive rattle from some pine branch no more umbrageous than it was in winter. By day and by night too, the corncrake runs through its bower of mowing-grass, its harsh cry now swinging to the far end of the field, now rattling in our very ears, till we think we could jump on the bird to a certainty, yet no sight of it is to be had. If we had never seen a corncrake, what manner of beast should we imagine it to be? Perhaps an unusually elusive cricket, with an astonishingly loud fiddle. Like Wordsworth's cuckoo and most of the other birds at the edge of June, it is just "a wandering voice."

Short Studies.

POLICEMEN.

THE new policeman was fast stirring into a blaze that dislike and mistrust of the police, as such, which smoulders always among working people.

No doubt the police are a fine body of men, tall, well-fed, and intelligent; but, all the same, there are two ways of looking at them: from above and from under-

neath. And naturally so, for the police do effectively divide the country into two classes, an upper and a lower; those above them, whose servants they are, and those beneath them, who are under their thumb. Along the dividing line, there they stand, taking their orders, together with pay and promotion, from the one class, and executing them for the most part on the other, as any police-court records will show. Apart from definite crime, the upper classes have nothing to fear from the police, and are not worried by them. They do not interfere with the upper-class ways of life. (Motor-traps form a possible exception; but the offence is very flagrant, and even then it is seldom a policeman is called upon to prosecute the gentry of his own neighborhood.) Unless the police have a thoroughly good case, it does not do for them to proceed against those who can hire good lawyers in defence, and furthermore retaliate. Gentry, therefore, are not arrested on suspicion; but working people are. The police are charged not only with the prevention and detection of crime among them, as among other people, but with the enforcement of a whole mass of petty enactments, which are little more than social regulations bearing almost entirely on working-class life. At the bidding of one class, they impose a certain social discipline on another. In every direction, inside his own house as well as out, the working man's habits and convenience are interfered with, or are liable to be interfered with, or his poverty is penalized, by the police. Whether or no he comes into collision with them is more a matter of good fortune than of law-abidingness, and he is a lucky man who does not find himself in their hands at one time or another in his life. Nor can it very well be otherwise, since the duties of the police have been made to tally with upper-class, as opposed to working-class, notions of right and wrong; so that a working man may easily render himself liable to arrest and all sorts of penalties, from hard labor to the loss of a day's work, without in the least doing what is wrong in his own eyes or in the opinion of his neighbors. For that reason alone, there is hardly a man who cannot, from the working-class point of view, bring up instances of gross injustice on the part of the police towards himself or friends or relations—to say nothing of cases that are plainly unjust from any point of view.

The new policeman caused many such tales to be revived. Evidently he meant to become known to his superiors as a smart and zealous officer. First of all, the children began crying out. "Dad," they came in saying, "you knows thic new policeman. . . . Well, baint us allowed to go on the pavement in Cross Street? Thic there new bobby's turned us off."

"I s'pose you was kicking up a noise or summut," Dave replied. "You makes buzz enough in house here."

"No, us wasn't—not then. Us was looking in a shop-window, an' he told us to git along. He's turned off Lily Brewster an' Mabel Griggs too. Lily Brewster told us so. You ask her."

"They'm nice quiet girls," Mrs. Perring remarked.

Very soon the working quarters of the town were all agog over the new policeman. Cross Street, after business hours, is something of a promenade for working people, where they stroll and talk and meet each other, without disorder and without hindering anybody. There is nowhere else for them to go on rough nights, except public-houses. But the new policeman seems to have thought it improper for working people to use the public street for any of their own purposes. He tried to break up the laughing, chattering groups, to turn them off the pavement into the track of the motor cars. He fell foul of some bluejackets on leave, which was really unwise on his part. He played off his game on Dave's cousin, who, on claiming a right to be there, was very nearly run in. There was talk of an assault case because a young man teased a maiden, but the maiden resolutely refused to admit that the young man's attentions were unwelcome.

"What is it at all?" asked Dave. "What be 'em 'bout? Who's been ordering of 'em that the likes o' us baint to stop an pass the time o' day in Cross Street? We pays rates an' taxes for the upkeep of the streets, don' us. Aye, an' we helps pay the bobbies' wages, too! An' yet they'm down on us people. Why don' 'em make

a start by moving on they there gentry, what'll stand up chattering for an hour right in the busiest part of the daytime, an' everything becomes 'em? They don't say nort to they; but the likes o' us, an' our kids, we'm nuisances at once. Is it 'cause they sort's got little puppy dogs running 'longside o' em, or clothes on their back that us can't afford, or hands that's clean wi' no work, or a haw-haw way o' speaking? Ah! if the bobbies was to interfere too much wi' them, like they interferences wi' us, they'd hear about it afterwards. They'd be made to know that they'd made a mistake, an' pretty quick too. That's what 'tis. You look at 'lection time, when they wants 'ee to cheer one ort 'other o' 'em what's putting up, an' gen'lemen leads off. That's all right. Thee ca'st cheer an' shout for whichever thee't minded. But holiday time, when people's trying to make a bit of enjoyment on their own account, that's all wrong. 'Tis drunk an' disorderly then. It don't depend on what you'm doing; it depends on who you are, an' who's at the back o' ee."

"I'm hanged if I'd move on for any policeman," said Mrs. Perring, "not ordinary times when I wasn't doing no harm."

"What's the good of saying ort?" replied Dave. "They'd run 'ee in an' make up a case against 'ee; an' if you wasn't tame they'd say you was violent; an' if you was to let slip a cuss or two, like they bettermost people lands out wi' what they calls sarcastic, which is only their way o' cussing, an' a damn bad way—then you'd be had up for bad language as well. An' if you gets off an' baint fined, you'm still fined the loss of a day's work, which the police won't pay 'ee for, if they loses, though you'll have to pay right enough if they wins. How 'bout poor ol' Buster?"

Buster is another relation of Dave's, and a quiet, harmless fellow. One day, in his own cottage, he was having a friendly argument on politics with a sailor brother who happened to be at home. Naturally, they spoke their own language, and drove their points home with a few swear words, but neither of them was loud or abusive, and no one could have heard them in the street without listening. Unluckily, a policeman happened to be in the street, and he did listen. He scared Buster's wife by delivering a summons, haled him before the magistrates, made the worst he could of the case, and poor Buster, for using a few cusses in his own house, was fined nearly as much as he can earn by a week's work.

"How 'bout poor ol' Buster?" repeated Dave, whose indignation over the case shows no signs of lessening. "An' that's how 'tis I tell thee; an' how 'twill be, so long as they has the upper hand o' ee. Navy officers swears—you should hear 'em, here's luck. But d'you think thic there bobby would ha' gone listening outside an officer's house an' ha' summonsed he for swearing? Course he wouldn't! But they goes for ol' Buster, what can't defend hisself, an' they fines he as much, after the rate, as if they'd fined an officer twenty pound."

"'Tis all right, I reckon, for the police to keep reasonable order an' look after proper criminals; but the first thing a policeman ought to know, in my opinion, is when to let well alone. They can't be everywhere to once, an' there's things they misses, but they an't got no need for to invent rows. I was reading on the paper t'other day how the Russian police gets up rows on purpose, an' the paper spoke as if 'twas a shameful thing, that only happened in Russia. Do 'ee think they don't never do it here? For sure they do; an' everybody knows it, 'cepting those that ought to know; though there's a lot of difference in bobbies, after that. Some o' em jogs along quiet."

"You see if a chap comes out of a pub a bit screwed Up goes the bobby an' interferences wi' 'en, instead o' letting 'en get along home. Tells him he'd better go home quiet, which ten to one he would do if he wasn't told so. Then the chap gets angry, asks who's drunk, an' tells the bobby to go to hell; an' he gets run in an' fined, all through the bobby interfering wi' 'en. Certain policemen makes lots o' cases that way. An' see how they hunts down any poor devil they've a-got their knife into! They don't gie 'en half a chance."

An' the oftener they runs 'en in, the quicker they does it again, till 'tis pretty nigh enough for 'en to walk up the street. There's plenty of bobbies likes *their* bit of enjoyment once in a way on the quiet, but when us finds they bottled up, us don't run they in, n'et report 'em, an' mightn't be believed if us did. Some o' 'em would lose all they got, buttons an' pension an' all, if people was minded to be dishonest wi' they, an' make cases o' 'em.

"'Tis that making of cases. . . I've a-heard say that policemen don't get promotion on their cases. That may be. But if they has lots of cases, an' proves 'em, whether by hard-swearing or not, then they gets themselves know'd to their superiors as smart, active bobbies, an' it's the same thing in the end. The worst of bobbies is that they hangs together, an' if one o' 'em tells a thumping gert lie, all the rest o' 'em backs 'en up. Not but what they bain't like clergymen an' doctors, an' plenty o' other people in that; only there's a difference, I reckon, in a set o' men hanging together to their own advantage, an' hanging together to the disadvantage of poor people what's down under, an' can't help themselves.

"Mind you, I don't say 'tis always the bobbies' fault. A lot o' 'em's all right when you knows 'em. They has to earn their living, an' they has to do what's expected o' 'em. 'Tis as police they'm bad, an' right down wicked liars sometimes. Barring being policemen, they'm mostly nice enough. But there's no trusting o' 'em, not the best o' 'em, if they can get hold of anything that they thinks, like, 'll carry. There's jobs, thee's know, that'll spoil a man, no matter how good he is, an' being a policeman is one o' 'em. It holds 'en off, like, from their fellow-creatures. When they do do anybody a kindness, 'tis mostly what they ain't supposed to do, an' outside their duty. What did those three bobbies say, that us had a drink wi' up to Junction, when they was going home from a case they'd wonned in before the magistrates to Exeter. "'Tis all damn't rot,' one o' 'em said, 'an' us knows it, but us got to carry on, an' there 'tis!' An' us knows it too. That's why us don't think nort the worse of a chap what's been to chokey; an' that's why 'tis, you take notice, that if anybody of our sort calls in the police, w'er they'm right or wrong, 'tis ten to one the neighbors turns against 'em.

"But 'tis hard to know who's to blame most; 'tis a big consarn o' it. . ."

Dave thought for a while in deep perplexity; then suddenly brightened up. "Chil'ern's the ones to find out what bobbies be," he said. "The kids gets to know w'er they'm good or bad. An' that's it, or nearabout. You take ol' Buster's case. . . Cussing is a thing that everybody does more or less; there's nort wrong in it; 'tis only a manner o' speaking; but gentry-people, they don't like to hear it, unless 'tis them doing it. So they says we'm not to swear; as if us was naughty chil'ern for doing what they grown-ups can do. Yet they tells us, them that wants to get into Parliament, that the laws is made by the people for the people. 'Tisn't so! Laws is made by them that's got the upper hand according to their own idea. The majority swears, but the minority punishes 'em for it. An' so 'tis in all things. D'you think, if they was to have one o' they referendum things, to decide w'er chaps like ol' Buster should be fined a week's pay for letting slip a cuss or two—d'you think they'd win? Wi' the likes o' ol' Buster in a majority of ten to one against 'em! An' that's the way to look at it; an' that's the way us do look at it, only us can't all put it plain. The likes o' they got *their* ways an' *their* convenience, an' us have a-got *our* ways an' *our* convenience, which is different; an' *they'm* in the minority; but the police is the means they've a-got for forcing their ways an' *their* convenience on the likes o' us.

"That's what the police is; an' so long as they'm that, 'twon't be no better; 'cause although the police belongs rightly to the likes o' us, 'tis bound to be to the police's advantage for to play up to the likes o' they."

STEPHEN REYNOLDS.

Letters from Abroad.

BRITISH AND GERMAN LABOR INSURANCE.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—The German press is, on the whole, rather taciturn in regard to Mr. Lloyd George's Insurance Bill. The papers report the contents of the Bill and its reception in and out of Parliament, but they show as yet little inclination to venture upon a closer examination of it in comparison with the German system of labor insurance. One reason for this reticence is a certain embarrassment due to the fact that Mr. Lloyd George's Bill brings the British Labor Insurance with a jump far ahead of the German in regard to the contributions of the State—a fact energetically pointed out by the Socialistic and Democratic press.

Almost on the same day as that on which Mr. Lloyd George's Bill was laid before Parliament, the German Reichstag began the second reading of the new Imperial Code of Labor Insurance—the "Reichsversicherungsordnung," as the German title goes, a statute containing no fewer than 1754 paragraphs in six books, each of which is subdivided again into a number of chapters or parts. This Code unifies to a certain extent the existing German working-class insurances, and proposes also to extend their provisions to several trades or occupations hitherto excluded from one or the other, and also to extend their scope in so far that insurances for widows and orphans are added to the provisions for sickness, accident, old age, and infirmity.

A detailed appreciation of the changes the Code will bring if accepted in its present state is not yet called for. In its present form the compulsory sick insurance will in future embrace agricultural laborers and forest laborers, so that the number of those insured against sickness will be raised from about 13 millions to about 20 millions. The two new classes of insured acquire no rights in the administration of the funds and the election of officials, and only a very chancy and poor sick allowance. The free, *i.e.*, independent, friendly societies of the workers, in which, in spite of many legal restrictions, there are still about 1,300, with over 900,000 members, will be almost entirely crushed out of existence, whilst the establishment insurances, *i.e.*, the insurances of the workers of single establishments (factories, yards, etc.) created for the purpose of linking the workers to these establishments, at present about 8,000, with over three millions of workers insured, will be preserved almost unconditionally, and may even be increased. Apart from the tendency to minimise as much as possible the influence of the Social Democrats on the administration of the insurances, and particularly on the nomination of the officials, the supporters of the Bill hope to forge from it a weapon against the Socialists for the coming General Election. If the latter reject the Code on the final vote because of the reduction of the administrative rights of the workers, they will accuse them before the electors of sacrificing a great piece of reform to their desire for power. To this event the presumptive criminals look forward with the greatest possible equanimity. The workers would never pardon them selling their political birthright, even for a much more abundant mess of pottage than the pittance offered by the present Bill.

Their desire for independent organisation is illustrated by the remarkable growth and efficiency of the German Trade Unions, to which Mr. Chiozza Money has pointed in his exceedingly interesting article in THE NATION of the 29th April. It is indeed worth the while of democratic reformers to discover whether and in which respects British Trade Unions have been surpassed by those of other countries, and if so, what are the reasons of their lagging behind, and how this reacts upon the conditions of the industries of Great Britain and their workers? If a causal connection can be ascertained between the slow growth of British Unionism and a stagnation of the economic condition of the British working classes as a whole, the

picture should be set in the most impressive fashion before the eyes of all concerned.

The mere numerical excess of the German Trade Unions over the British Unions is in itself nothing to be wondered at. With the growth of German industries it was bound to come, sooner or later, if the German workers were not to remain for ever the inferiors of their British brethren in organising capacity. At present, unfortunately, we do not possess the statistics for an exhaustive and exact comparison of the numbers of all the wage-earners occupied in trade, traffic, and commerce in both countries, since the census is compiled on different principles in each of them. But it is probable that their number is now larger in Germany than in Great Britain, though not in proportion to the population of both countries, viz., 65-47, for Germany has a much larger agricultural population than the United Kingdom. A rough comparison of some of the most important groups will show this at once. If we take the figures of the British Census of 1901 as published in the 13th abstract of labor statistics of the United Kingdom, and those of the German Census, we arrive at the following table:—

	British Census, 1901.	German Census, 1907 (exclusive of dealers).
1. In and about and dealing in the products of mines and quarries ...	943,880	1,577,798
2. Metals, machines, implements, and conveyances ...	1,475,410	2,093,147
3. Building, &c. ...	1,335,820	1,905,987
4. Wood, furniture, decoration, &c. ...	307,632	787,754
5. Paper, prints, books, &c. ...	334,281	404,666
6. Food, tobacco, drink, lodging ...	1,301,076	1,778,413
7. Dress ...	1,395,795	1,421,695
8. Textiles ...	1,462,001	1,057,243

The only one of these groups which shows less persons occupied in Germany than in Great Britain is that of the textile trades. But the German figures refer only to actual textile work, whilst the British include auxiliary occupations which the German Census enumerates under separate heads not considered here. The British figures include also dealers, which in the German Census are counted under commercial occupations. The group, commercial occupations, had in the British Census 712,465, in the German 1,739,910 persons. If you add these and the other eight enumerated occupations, you get the following comparison:—

Persons occupied in the United Kingdom, 1901...	9,268,360
Persons occupied in Germany, 1907 ...	12,866,613

In the ten years from 1891 to 1901, the persons occupied in the United Kingdom increased a little over 10 per cent. This would make for the six years, from 1901 to 1907, an increase of a little over 6 per cent., or 558,000 persons, and would bring the British figure near to 10 millions. Compared with the German figures, this works out 4 persons only occupied in the United Kingdom against 5 in Germany. It is so far then only natural that the German Trade Unions should include more people than those of the United Kingdom. And, if one deducts from the figure Mr. Money quotes, those societies of clerks, railway employees, assistant engineers, and others which expressly reject Trade Union principles, it is only fair to say that, Christian and Hirsch (Liberal) Unions included, we can at present boast in Germany of no higher percentage of wage-earners organised in Trade Unions than Great Britain. It was a marvellous thing to arrive in a comparatively short time at this result, but there, and no further ahead, we are at this juncture (as far as numbers are concerned).

But numbers alone tell comparatively little. It is the coherence, the inner life, the width of conception, the fighting and sacrificing spirit which count. That in these respects the German Unions, taken as a whole, are ahead of a large number of the British Unions, the well-informed leaders of British Trade Unionism openly admit. This is a chapter of industrial history which cannot be dealt with in the few lines of a short letter.

It is not summed up in a comparison of the respective strike statistics, nor do financial tables give the whole tale. It requires a knowledge of their economic and theoretical foundation, of their formal or legal constitution, and their ways of acting and dealing. Leaving the description of these to another opportunity, I may be allowed to end to-day by stating this much. There are certainly several reasons which account for the lack of life in British Trade Unionism. But as far as the men and their leaders are concerned, it is, in the opinion of your correspondent, a mistake to blame or praise the one as against the other. There occur everywhere cases where the leaders err, and are corrected by those who generally submit to be led. But, on the whole, the bureaucratic spirit of British Trade Unions is not the result of too great freedom given to those at their head. It appears to an observer of long standing that rather the reverse is the case. At least in a large number of Unions too little freedom for creative work is given to those forming the executive. With the narrow limitation of these Unions in regard to the powers of their executives, the general commission of the German Trade Unions would never have arrived at building up that remarkable edifice known as the Free Federation of the Centralised Unions of Germany, now the greatest economic force in organised labor all over the world.—Yours, &c.,

ED. BERNSTEIN.

Schoeneberg, Berlin,
14th May, 1911.

Letters to the Editor.

THE POLICY OF SCOTTISH LIBERALISM.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—Your issue of last week contains a letter from Mr. J. M. Hogge, in which reference is made to my views on the Small Landholders' (Scotland) Bill of the Government and Scottish Home Rule in terms which are capable of being misunderstood, and in order that there may be no misapprehension with regard to my position on these subjects, I shall be obliged if you will allow me to state briefly what it is.

The Government are committed by definite and repeated pledges to pass the Parliament Bill, a Home Rule Bill for Ireland, and the Small Landholders' (Scotland) Bill, and they are bound, not only as a matter of policy but as a matter of good faith, to pass these measures during the present Parliament. I consider myself bound to my constituents to support them in their efforts to pass all these measures, and to oppose them if they do not make every possible effort to do so.

With regard to Scottish Home Rule, I have long been in favor of it, and I have advocated it at three different elections, and I am prepared to support it on every suitable occasion; but it is not a measure to which the Government are pledged, and I should not consider it right to make my support of the Government on any of the questions I have mentioned dependent on an undertaking to pass a measure of Home Rule for Scotland during the present Parliament. If I did, I might defeat the main proposals on which the Liberal Government and Party were returned to power, and in doing so I should not be keeping faith with my constituents. Mr. Hogge says, "Mr. Falconer, in Scotland, protests that the time for Scottish Home Rule is not yet." If he means that, in my opinion, Scotland does not yet require Home Rule, then he is under a complete misapprehension. I have repeatedly spoken strongly against the present state of affairs, in which, for the last twenty years, Scottish members have attended at Westminster to pass measures for all the other departments while the necessary time could not be got for Scottish business, however important and urgent. In that sense there is no question that the time has arrived when Scotland requires a measure of Home Rule, and instead of protesting against it, I have consistently advocated it. What I have protested against is the proposal that nothing should be done for Scotland

until a Home Rule measure is granted, or that Scottish Home Rule should be used to defeat or delay the carrying out of the policy of the Government with regard to Home Rule for Ireland. In support of this protest, I have pointed out the difficulty of passing into law a satisfactory measure of Home Rule for Scotland during this Parliament. The programme for next Session is already so full that such a measure could not be included in it, and after that, during this Parliament, all Liberal measures will be at the mercy of the House of Lords, and no responsible statesman has held out any hope that a satisfactory measure of Home Rule can be passed within that period.

In these circumstances, every earnest land reformer and every earnest temperance reformer in Scotland will, I am sure, join with me in protesting against the suggestion that these causes should stand over indefinitely until a Scottish Parliament has been established.

With regard to the Scottish National Committee to which Mr. Hogge also refers, I think it is greatly to be regretted that this Committee should have been formed in the way in which it was done, with the result that an appearance of division has been created among Scottish Liberal members on the question of Scottish Home Rule and the Land question, on which Liberal opinion in Scotland is practically unanimous, and the power and influence of Scottish Liberalism is weakened. Those of us who know the part played by the staunch body of Scottish Liberal members and the Scottish Liberal Association, and the Young Scots' Society in supporting Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman during the period between 1895 and 1906 can best appreciate the importance of preventing any weakening in our ranks now, especially when we are entering upon what may be a critical controversy with regard to the land question. On that question Scotland for the present time is fighting for its life, and if its Liberalism fails now to obtain a satisfactory settlement there may never be an opportunity to repair the mistake.

These are the reasons for which I advocate the simple straightforward policy of carrying out the programme declared to the country as regards the House of Lords, Irish Home Rule, the Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill, and the Temperance (Scotland) Bill, and deprecate all attempts to divide the Scottish Liberal Party, or to make their support of the Government dependent upon the granting of Scottish Home Rule during this Parliament.—Yours, &c.,

JAMES FALCONER.

House of Commons.
May 24th, 1911.

INVALIDITY INSURANCE AND PREVENTIVE MEDICINE.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—The introduction of the Bill for invalidity insurance takes us a long way on the road towards national prevention of disease. The assumption by the State of responsibility for the collection and distribution of a levy, with an addition from the State and the employer, solves the one great difficulty that confronted the social reformer and the medical reformer. The question now is: What sort of medical service shall be provided? A right or a wrong decision on this point means success or disaster. To give an idea of the alternative I suggest to the official scheme, I shall sketch shortly the constitution and duties of the institutes suggested in my communication of May 6th. My figures are, of course, tentative; nothing but experience can solve these and other details.

I wish to focus the attention of all concerned on industrial London, "incomparably the greatest industrial centre in the world," for these reasons. London is the heart, the vital organ of our Empire; a strengthening of it in the matter of health, will fortify our race; a certain weakening of it may lead us to destruction. The hospitals of London represent the high-water mark of British medicine; they set the standard for the Empire. There is no prospect of inaugurating medical reform except through the London hospitals and hospital schools.

Let me repeat that the reason I advocate the establishment of medical institutes all through industrial London is that the hospitals deal only with cure, and that it is now universally admitted that the prevention of disease must

be undertaken by someone. The physicians of these institutes will practise, primarily, on the basis of prevention by making themselves acquainted at first-hand with the whole causation of the diseases that at present make London, almost, "uninhabitable for the Englishman."

An institute placed in an area inhabited by some fifteen thousand people would, in the densely-populated parts, serve an area of very small and manageable proportions. Each physician would have allotted to him a definite district, to which he would confine his attention, except in cases of emergency. In this way each one would become familiar with all his patients—a most vital matter. He would spend some six or seven hours, six days a week, going from house to house, not merely to see sick people, but to see that they did not fall sick. Saturday would be, except for emergencies, a holiday at the institute; it is a housekeeping and cleaning day in the district. Sunday would be the best and busiest visiting day; the house is tidy and quiet, the men and young people are at home from work, and the children from school. Each physician would have a staff of at least three trained nurses, and it would be their duty in the first place to see that his directions with regard to the ailing were carried out, but beyond that, to watch, more especially the women and children, for the first signs of failing health. Thus probably no household would long pass without a visit from a physician or nurse. It is perfectly obvious that a trained nurse could, in the vast majority of cases, herself detect the cause or causes of commencing pallor, lassitude, or malnutrition, in lack of ventilation, late hours, faulty feeding, and so on.

Here is an apposite illustration. A clever hospital physician told me of a girl who spent many weeks, as out-patient and in-patient alternately, and nearly lost her life, until her father, put on the alert by my friend, found the cause of her illness in a slight leak of gas in her bedroom. The nurse would have found it on her first visit, and would have thereby saved the hospital funds several pounds, not to mention the patient and her family. These nurses will really do what is now most unreasonably expected of the lay health visitor. Medicine, although ultimately founded on pure science, is in all its branches an essentially practical affair; to help in this work necessitates a prolonged and exacting training. The amateur is nowhere more utterly out of place than in attempting to minister to the sick and wounded. The idea of sending lay helpers to undertake prevention of disease without touching the work of cure or alleviation is chimerical.

For such an institute a staff of five physicians and fifteen nurses would probably be required. Each institute would be provided with a clinic, at which all chronic and minor ailments would be attended to; dentistry would be included. It would be only a few hundred yards from the furthest patient, and patients would attend, not to wait for hours in a crowd, but at certain times, to be treated promptly and sent home again. This work would be done chiefly by students from the hospital, and nurses new to district work; there would be a sister of the clinic. I must here particularly emphasise the fact that this system, beginning at the hospital, might be extended so as to provide for *bonâ-fide* medical attendance, based on prevention, for the whole population of industrial London. The hospital would still remain a tower of strength in the background for the acutely ill and the severely injured. The hospital out-patient department would become a well-ordered and not overcrowded consulting room; special members of the staff would act as consultants in the district, and as supervisors of the scientific work of the institutes. All reports would go to a central scientific body for comparison, digestion, and redistribution.

These physicians and nurses would be provided with board and lodging, and moderate salaries, rising with advancing experience to, perhaps, £300 and £100 a year respectively. Nurses would clearly have the option of becoming permanent; the physicians would probably change after a certain number of years. In reckoning the cost, it is essential to mention first the saving that would occur automatically. In the district supplied with the medical service here described, there would be no work for the medical Officer of health, except when sent for, nor for the sanitary inspector; the lay health visitor would not be required at all. The school medical inspector and the school clinic would be

dispensed with. There would be no parish doctor required. The anti-tuberculosis campaign, and other similar undertakings, would be carried on much more efficiently than is at present possible. It would be the duty of statesmen to see that the money thus saved for various authorities should be paid to the State, and added to the contributions laid down in the Bill. When all these sums were added together, it would probably be found that there was quite enough available to defray the cost of the medical service here suggested. The service would be comprehensive, truly national; it would also be primarily preventive, because it would be based on the acquisition of a complete knowledge of causation in every case dealt with. Lastly, it would utilise to the full the magnificent system of hospitals already existing in London; it would be a natural, an evolutionary, development of our hospitals and hospital schools.

Contrast with this the system suggested under the insurance scheme. We are offered here a huge extension of the contract system of medical practice. I shall not discuss in detail the merits or demerits of this system; but it is obvious that it cannot be made to foster practice that is based primarily on prevention. Under it, the insured person is not entitled to medical service until he has broken down; he is then entitled to ask for cure. This alone, to my mind, condemns the system. Again, there is no provision made for medical attendance on the wives and children of the insured; the greater part of industrial London has yet to be provided for. If this is to be left, as at present, in the hands of hospital out-patient departments, prevention will still be lacking. The system of medical school inspection may be greatly increased; but this leaves the problem of treatment unsolved. The school clinic is being instituted; but, multiply them how you will, it does not seem possible to make these clinics accessible, practically, to all children. And even then, the children under school age are unprovided for; and they form a vitally important group. The medical officer of health, the sanitary inspector, and the lay health visitor may struggle as they will, but they never will be able to do the work of prevention in a way that will be even comparable with what might be done by physicians and trained nurses resident in the district. The proposed system makes no use whatever of existing hospitals; there is no provision for consultations here or elsewhere; it makes no use of the medical profession as a corporate body; it gives no hope of the introduction of the trained nurse to industrial London; surely an extraordinary thing when she is finding her way to the remotest and healthiest villages. I shall mention only one more point: Will this huge extension of the contract system gain for the new State medical service the whole-hearted co-operation of all that is most desirable in the rising generation of the medical profession? Statesmen ought to be very well assured on this point before proceeding. Such are, broadly, the rival systems; the choice is a vitally important one for the industrial classes, for the medical profession, and for the nation.—Yours &c.,

S. W. MACILWAINE,

M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. (retired).

Peterhurst, Clevedon, Somerset.

WHY PEOPLE DO NOT GO TO CHURCH.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—Your issue of April 22nd has just reached me in an isolated spot on the prairies of Southern Alberta, where I regularly receive your valuable paper, sent to me by those who wish me to keep alive true Liberal principles. I have just read an interesting article headed "Why people do not go to Church," and reading it has aroused much thought. I do not feel that any of the writers whose work is reviewed in that article have really lit upon the true answer; though they have come close to it. Reflection on experience of work and religious life in England, supplemented by further experience gained in the freer and less conventional atmosphere of this great colony, has forced me to the following conclusions:—

I can well remember, as a boy, how puzzled I used to feel over the fact that certain religious books and sermons always left me with an undefined, uncomfortable feeling, while others seemed only to rouse and fire my imagination, and fill me with new ideas and aspirations. And, further, I found that among the latter class were many of the greatest names. The Gospel of Christ, as I read it in the Bible, un-

encumbered by human application, though infused with life by human interpretation, while it made me profoundly dissatisfied, never made me uncomfortable. Similarly with many books I read and sermons I heard. And yet there remained a vast number of others which, while apparently absolutely orthodox and praiseworthy, only left me depressed, dead, cold; in a word, with an indefinable sense of discomfort.

At last the solution of the problem suddenly seemed to flash upon me, one which subsequent years have only confirmed and deepened. The Gospel which appealed to me and fired me with ideals was the Gospel of Revelation, the Gospel which, in the words of its founder, was given as a Revelation, and not as an Exhortation. "To this end am I born, and to this end am I come into the world, that I should bear witness unto the Truth." And, similarly, the writers and the preachers who appealed to me were those who approached the Gospel from a similar point of view, whose purpose, namely, was simply "to bear witness unto the Truth."

But is this what we find as a general rule in our churches, in our religious books? Is their chief purpose and desire to bear witness to the Truth? Men come, seeking the bread of life-giving truth, and instead are offered the stone of some cold, dead, second-hand dogma. And, worse than that, they come seeking some Revelation, which, once granted to them, however partially, will serve to fire them with the desire to lead a true Christian life, and, instead, they are met with denunciations, exhortations, injunctions to the performance of certain religious acts, and the observance of certain religious rites and ceremonies, which appear to them remote, traditional, and often not understandable, and they are left cold, unmoved, with simply an indefinable, uncomfortable feeling.

Our churches will continue to be empty so long as the preachers (and what is perhaps even more important, the teachers in Sunday Schools) present Christianity as a matter of obligation, to be fostered by denunciation and exhortation. What men need, and what men only too seldom get, is plain, unvarnished, real witness to the Truth, in proportion as it has been revealed to the teacher of religion, and forms part of his own individual, growing experience. As we study the Gospel, we find Christ did not exhort, seldom, and then in the most unexpected direction, denounced, did not lay down laws and speak of obligations, but simply bore witness to the Truth, and laid down the principles by which Truth must be apprehended, and the lines of the character which alone would be capable of receiving it. Our morality and our religion (if religion be taken, as it usually seems to be, to mean performance of certain religious practices) are only of value in their relationship to the Truth.

Contentment with a mere social gospel may satisfy the dwellers in large cities (among whom, apparently, Mr. Forbes Gray must be classed), but of what interest will it be to the wife of a lonely homesteader who, perhaps, never meets anyone, save when she drives once a fortnight from a distance to attend a little service in some school-room or private house. But if she and her husband, who toils from morn to night on the open prairie, can only receive some Revelation of a living God, can only gather some crumbs of the Truth to which everything around them must be bearing its silent witness, will they not return with lives enriched and solitude peopled?

Our churches will once more be filled, and what is more, they will once more be united, and our unhappy divisions healed, when priest and preacher alike have realised that both by word and good example, by preaching, and, above all, by self-effacing acts of worship and devotion, their one aim and purpose may be as with their Master to say: "To this end am I born, and to this end am I come into the world, that I should bear witness unto the Truth."—Yours, &c.

CANADIAN ANGLICAN PRIEST.

St. Paul's Indian Mission, Macleod, Alberta, Canada.

May 9th, 1911.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—I read with interest the article which appeared in THE NATION on April 22nd on "Why People do not go to Church," which is a review of the volume edited by Mr. Forbes Gray on "Non-Church Going: Its Reasons and Remedies."

I would like to be allowed to say that, in my opinion, both the editor of the volume and the writer of the review have missed the mark. Both writers seem to me to have wrong conceptions of the nature and function of the Churches.

The Church has a more important truth to proclaim than even the Sermon on the Mount. Dr. Harnack, one of the greatest critics in Europe, in his book, recently published, on "The Church," says that "the Church arose and grew out of the association of men who had found God through Jesus, and who therefore knew that they were ruled by the Spirit of God." The Church is not a society of men met together to discuss social questions. It exists to manifest God to men, and to bring about the reign of God on earth. Its function, first of all, is to make God real to man, to train man to stand in the burning purity of God. Secondly, to bring all things under the dominion of Christian ideas.

Men do not come to a knowledge of God by argument or controversy, but by faith and love, by worship and service.

The Church, with all its faults, is the most wonderful society on earth. It is the only society that is eternal or immortal.

The reason why people do not go to Church is not, as the editor and reviewer suggest, "because the Church is unreal and uninteresting." The real reason, in the majority of cases, is because so many men have lost their vision of the eternal and invisible, they have lost their sense of God, so they think they can live without religion. The great Italian patriot says "that religion is the breath of humanity."—Yours, &c.,

WILLIAM JONES.

(Congregational Minister).

Chester.

"JAPAN FOR A WEEK."

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—Kindly permit me to correct some unintentional misrepresentations in your otherwise admirable review of my little book on Japan. In the first place, the title is not "Japan for Ever," but "Japan for a Week." Secondly, I did not intend to suggest that I had "inspired" Mr. Blatchford's "Daily Mail" articles on the German menace. Many years before my visit to Japan Mr. Blatchford had said in the "Clarion" practically all he subsequently wrote in the "Mail," and the only influence I claim to have exercised upon him was to confirm, by my experiences, his intention of seeking a louder sounding-board for his long-deliberated opinions. I may add that my own views were not altogether derived from "holiday meanderings," as I was born in Germany, and have spent many years in that country.—Yours, &c.,

ALEX. M. THOMPSON.

Nursing Institution, Cashiobury House,
Southend-on-Sea,
May 25th, 1911.

THE MATERNITY BENEFIT.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—In your issue of the 20th inst., Mrs. Anne Palme Dutt writes complaining of the smallness of the maternity benefit provided by the State Insurance Bill, and she states that "the Hearts of Oak and other friendly societies have for years been paying maternity benefit to their married men members." The Chancellor of the Exchequer said when introducing the State Insurance Bill into the House of Commons that only one or two of the friendly societies paid maternity benefit at the moment, although all were alive to the importance of doing so. There is some discrepancy between the two statements. Mrs. Dutt asserts that the maternity benefit of 30s. proposed by Mr. George—that which is actually paid by the Hearts of Oak—"is totally inadequate to induce a woman earning good wages to stay away from work for four weeks after confinement." But when the Insurance Bill becomes law, it will be compulsory upon the woman earning good wages to insure herself against sickness and invalidity, and she will therefore receive 7s. 6d. a week sick benefit when motherhood makes it impossible for her to work, for three months if necessary, and if she is then unfit to work, she will be entitled to 5s.

a week for another three months, as well as to the 30s. maternity benefit. (See Mr. Lloyd George's reply to Mr. Lees Smith in the House of Commons on May 18th.)

There are many voluntary nursing associations, the County Nursing Associations, Queen Victoria's Jubilee Nurses, the District Nurses, the Holtbekley Cottage Benefit Nursing Association, which provide for the mother in her hour of need the services of midwife and of nurse for a very small fee, and in many cases, as a free gift. In these instances, and I venture to contend in others, where the voluntary help is not forthcoming, the Chancellor of the Exchequer's provisions for maternity benefit will be of much value in themselves, as well as being, as you have pointed out, an earnest of better things to come. They may fairly be described as the initial step in the endowment of motherhood.—Yours, &c.,

ETHEL PATTESON NICKALLS.

1, Sloane Avenue, Chelsea, S.W.,

May 24th, 1911.

Poetry.

THE MANY-EYED AND MANY-WINGED.

"The many-eyed and many-winged hosts, named in the Hebrew tongue Cherubim and Seraphim . . . the appellation of Seraphim plainly teaches their ever moving about things divine, their constancy, warmth, keenness, and the seething of that persistent, indomitable, inflexible motion . . . But the appellation of the Cherubim denotes their knowledge and their vision of God."—*Dionysius the Areopagite*.

The burning seraphs, of created things
Most near to thee;
These are all wings.
They cannot see
Thy face, so close they are to thy Divinity.
They soar within thy light,
Plunge through the rushing river of thy grace;
To them it is a night
Fulfilled of ecstasy,
Where loved and lover meet in love's embrace.

Far off beyond that zone of moving fire,
The steadfast cherubim
All-wise
Thy Being hymn,
Thy neighborhood eternally desire.
Their anguished eyes
Are ever fixed on thy Reality.
Yet there they may not be:
They cannot rise,
Love hath not made them free.

Thy heart they know, that dread and deep Abyss.
Thy heart they know! Yet cannot come more near.
The torment of the seer
Is theirs, that all shall see and all must miss.
In vain
Their sweeping vision of supernal things;
'Tis but a deeper pain,
Since the One Truth they teach,
They may not reach—
They have no wings!

Ah, can it be
That here, all grief above,
Is still played out earth's bitterest tragedy?
Must those who clearest see
Thy beauty, linger in this twilight dim?
Dear God, who well dost love
All men and angels, of thy charity,
Pluck from thy mercy's breast
Feathers of love, so thy poor cherubim
Take wing, and fly to thee and be at rest!

EVELYN UNDERHILL.

The World of Books.

THE "NATION" OFFICE, THURSDAY NIGHT.

THE following is our weekly selection of books which we commend to the notice of our readers:—

- "The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson." Edited by Sidney Colvin. (Methuen. 4 vols. 5s. net each.)
 "Lollardy and the Reformation in England: An Historical Survey." By James Gairdner. Vol. III. (Macmillan. 10s. 6d. net.)
 "British Statesmen of the Great War, 1793-1814." By J. W. Fortescue. (Clarendon Press. 7s. 6d. net.)
 "The Religious Experience of the Roman People." By W. Warde Fowler. (Macmillan. 12s. net.)
 "The End of the Irish Parliament." By Joseph R. Fisher. (Arnold. 10s. 6d. net.)
 "Patriotism: A Biological Study." By H. G. F. Spurrell. (Bell. 2s. 6d. net.)
 "The Nelsons of Burnham Thorpe." By M. Eyre Matcham. (Lane. 16s. net.)
 "Parisian Portraits." By Francis Grierson. (Swift. 2s. 6d. net.)
 "The Diary of Dr. John William Polidori." Edited by W. M. Rossetti. (Elkin Mathews. 4s. 6d. net.)
 "Medical Revolution." By Sydney W. MacIlwaine. (P. S. King. 2s. 6d. net.)
 "Pains and Penalties: The Defence of Queen Caroline. A Play in Four Acts." By Laurence Housman. (Sidgwick & Jackson. 3s. 6d. net.)
 "General Booth and the Salvation Army." By A. M. Nicol. (Herbert & Daniel. 6s. net.)
 "Le Grand Siècle." Par Jacques Boulenger. (Paris: Hachette. 5 fr.)
 "Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien." Mystère Composé en Rythme Français. Par Gabriele d'Annunzio. (Paris: Calmann-Lévy. 3 fr. 50.)
 "L'Empire Libéral." Par Emile Ollivier. Tome XV. "Etions nous prêts?" (Paris: Garnier. 6 fr.)
 "Vie de Rousseau." Par Emile Faguet. (Paris: Société Française d'Imprimerie.)

MR. H. G. WELLS is, we understand, busy upon a new book, a domestic novel, which will probably be called "Marjorie," though the title is not yet definitely fixed.

THE final instalment of Lord Broughton's "Recollections of a Long Life" will be published by Mr. Murray soon after the Coronation. It opens in the year 1834, and goes on to the 'forties. During this period Hobhouse was still a power in Parliament and in the social world, and took an active part in many leading movements and events. Amongst the famous people of whom he gives glimpses are Peel, Melbourne, Wellington, Grey, Sir Francis Burdett, Joseph Hume, Palmerston, Lord John Russell, Macaulay, Daniel O'Connell, and Guizot. He sometimes saw these distinguished people in their very human moments, and jotted down his impressions of them while still fresh in his mind. Broughton officially into relations with the young Queen, Hobhouse came to know her and the Prince Consort intimately, and he has some very fresh descriptions of their private life.

MR. GEORGE MOORE's "Ave! Salve! Vale!" is now complete, and we may expect its publication next autumn. As we announced some time ago, many of the leading Irishmen both in politics and literature—Mr. W. B. Yeats, Mr. George Russell, Lady Gregory, Sir Horace Plunkett, Dr. Sigerson, Mr. William O'Brien, Mr. Tim. Healy, and others—figure in the volume. They appear, without any attempt at disguise, though many of the incidents in which they play a part are imaginary. Mr. Moore is also collaborating with Mr. S. L. Robinson in a dramatic version of "Esther Waters"—in our view the finest novel that Mr. Moore ever wrote, and the most likely to endure for its sympathetic and even poetic qualities.

THE correspondence of Elisée Reclus, the famous French geographer, will be published shortly in three volumes by Messrs. Schleicher Frères, of Paris. It will contain some interesting details about the War of 1870 and the Commune, when Reclus was sentenced to transportation for life, as well as of the anti-marriage movement of 1882, which led to the arrest of Reclus and Prince Kropotkin on the charge of being anarchist leaders, and the condemnation of the latter to imprisonment for five years.

UNDER the title of "An Imperial Victim," Miss Edith Cuthell will issue, through Messrs. Stanley Paul, a book

which attempts to rehabilitate Marie Louise, Napoleon's second wife. Miss Cuthell thinks that history has never judged Marie Louise fairly, and that the condemnation poured upon her by Bonapartist writers is unjust. Some years ago Count Falkenhayn published a selection from Marie Louise's letters, which he hoped would present her in an attractive light. It drew a bitter article from Anatole France, ending with the verdict: "Mediocre in an exalted position, she was neither good nor bad; she belongs to the numberless flock of those tepid souls whom Heaven rejects, and whom, as the poet says, Hell itself vomits forth in disgust."

MESSRS. BELL have in the press, and will issue in the autumn, the second volume of Mr. Elrington Ball's edition of "The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift." It begins with 1713, the year in which Swift was appointed Dean of St. Patrick's, and contains a number of letters hitherto unpublished.

M. HENRI BERGSON's influence is beyond question one of the salient characteristics of the philosophic thought of the present day. Some of his admirers go so far as to claim that he is the only philosopher of the first rank that France has produced since Descartes. However this may be, M. Bergson's books are widely read and eagerly discussed, so that it is satisfactory to learn that a full exposition of Bergson's philosophy has been written by Professor A. D. Lindsay, and will be published next week by Messrs. Dent.

WE learn that the literary agency of Messrs. Sprigg, Pedrick, & Co., has been re-constituted, and that the managing director of the new company will be Mr. J. W. Gilmer, who has been associated with Mr. Heinemann's publishing business for the past sixteen years.

"THE BOOK OF BURIED TREASURE" is the title of a volume by Mr. Ralph D. Paine, which will be published almost at once by an American firm. It gives an account of treasure lost or buried by pirates and others in the Spanish Main and other parts of the New World. Mr. Paine also describes some of the attempts made to recover treasure, the most successful being that of Sir William Phipps, who raised £300,000 in gold and silver ingots from a pirate craft in the West Indies.

A BOOK on Mr. John Lavery and his work has been written by Mr. Shaw-Sparrow, and will be published in the autumn by Messrs. Kegan Paul. It will be a companion volume to the same writer's study of Mr. Brangwyn, and will have a preface by Mr. Cunninghame Graham.

A "LIFE OF BRET HARTE" has been written by Mr. H. C. Merwin, and will be published in America, and possibly in this country also, during the present season. It has a good deal to say about the early Californian pioneers.

A MOST welcome addition to the world of books is the fourth edition of Mr. Jonathan Nield's "Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales," which has just been published by Mr. Elkin Mathews. The book has been completely revised, contains supplements that include novels published in the present year, presents its information in clear and handy form, and is in all respects a model of what such a work ought to be. Its scope may be judged from the fact that the annotated lists cover nearly three thousand novels and tales, two thousand more than are included in Mr. Courthope Bowen's "Descriptive Catalogue of Historical Novels and Tales," and thirteen hundred that are absent from Dr. Ernest Baker's "History in Fiction." We have tested Mr. Nield's book in several ways, and share his belief that "in its present form, besides being the largest bibliography of its kind, the 'Guide' is also the most accurate." The only fault we would find is that some novels are included, and sometimes marked with an asterisk as being of special worth, whose literary merit hardly entitles them to the distinction. But as a work of reference, Mr. Nield's "Guide" is indispensable to every library.

Reviews.

"TAKING STOCK" IN EGYPT.

"La Situation Economique et Financière de l'Egypte. Le Soudan Egyptien." Par PIERRE ARMINJON, Professeur à l'Ecole Khédiviale de Droit. Avec deux cartes et deux diagrammes, hors texte. (Paris: Librairie générale de droit et de jurisprudence, 20, Rue Soufflot. 18 fra.)

A CAREFUL and dispassionate account of how things really stand in Egypt must have been desired by many in the last few years of political excitement over Egyptian developments; and as regards what may be termed national stock-taking, on the economic side, the work is quite admirably done by M. Arminjon. Living the academic life between the "old hushed Egypt" of the tombs and the bustling Cairo of to-day, he has absorbed his subject whole, and conceives of it organically as a continuous life from the time of the Pharaohs, conditioned always by the everlasting fact of the Nile, but related to that environment with very varying results, according as the task of irrigation was well or ill done. It is mainly in respect of efficiency and scope of irrigation that the British supervision of to-day differs from that of all preceding Governments; but the task is in substance the same.

Studying the details so fully and exactly supplied by M. Arminjon, one is impressed alternately by the greatness of the work accomplished and the greatness of what remains to be done. After all, with our barrages—which are but the fulfilment of a proposal thrown out by Napoleon—we are but applying to irrigation the resources of modern engineering and modern finance, which were not within reach of the Pharaohs; our conception of our task is not so very different. Until the other day, we had not begun schooling the people for higher things any more than they had been schooled by the Pharaohs, or the Romans, or the Mamelukes. And even as regards their purely economic life, our much vaunted control is hardly to be compared with that of the kindred State of Algeria by the French. True, we have not their unpleasant retrospect of carnage, which caused even the pro-French Mustapha Kamel Pasha, the champion of Egyptian nationalism, to pronounce the French rule in Algeria "an assassination"; but the episode of Denshawai bulks none the less largely on that account; and on the other hand the French administration in Algiers is, latterly, much more progressive than ours in its provision for the individual economic development of the people. As M. Arminjon tells us, "industrial and agricultural syndicates, co-operative and other societies, have been enabled to plant themselves in this country under the protection of an appropriate legislation. There were numbered, in 1909, 197 native societies giving benefits, aids in sickness, and mutual loans, with a total capital of nearly 18 million francs, an advance of one and half millions over the previous year; and in 1908 a central bureau of insurance and re-insurance against hail, with seven affiliated local bureaux, two societies called 'mutuelles labours,' planned to insure harvests against calamities, a society of mutual insurance against fire, and 34 district bureaux of mutual agricultural credit. These district bureaux have received from the State repayable advances amounting to 3,384,970 francs, the rate for loans to the affiliated local bureaux varying between 3½ and 6½ per cent."

There is nothing like this in Egypt. There the peasant has only the alternatives of the village usurer and the Agricultural Bank; and Sir Eldon Gorst, in his recent report, intimates that of late the latter institution has come somewhat lamely off. Evidently the right course, in Egypt as in Algiers, is to develop societies of mutual support, "banks" for which the contributors are themselves responsible. But such institutions cannot be set on foot by the fellahen of their own accord. The very fact of their backwardness, given as a reason for their political non-enfranchisement, is an argument for a more paternal leading of them. What Sir Horace Plunkett and his collaborators have achieved in Ireland among a peasantry who are socially much more advanced, and what the French Government has brought about in Algeria, should be undertaken in Egypt by a combination of official and voluntary machinery.

But the British control, complacent over its regulation

of the finances and its comprehensive handling of irrigation, has been singularly reluctant to develop some of the most necessary forms of correlative organisation. The very fact of the national dependence upon a thoroughly centralised system of irrigation might have opened official eyes to the necessity of carrying organisation further. A number of years ago, when a Department of Agriculture was pressed for, the distinguished engineer, Sir Colin Scott Moncrieff, laid it down that "the true Ministry of Agriculture is the department of irrigation." "*Cette parole lapidaire*," as M. Arminjon calls it, stood in the way of the required Department till the other day. An early attempt at a Bureau of Agriculture under the British occupation, it is true, failed because of bad planning; and this seems to have been taken as decisive. Appeals in the House of Commons were fruitless, until the Commission appointed to inquire into the causes of the failure of the cotton crop, in 1908, reported strongly in favor of a properly equipped Agricultural Department. Now it is actually on foot, and it will be a scandal if it be not vigorously carried on.

What is thus laggardly being done in Egypt is only what has long been felt to be necessary in far more advanced European countries where, if anywhere, private or voluntary enterprise might be looked to for the promotion of agricultural science and enterprise. Again Professor Arminjon points the moral. "In France and Belgium there exists in every department or province, and even in certain arrondissements, a professor of agriculture, without prejudice to special professorships, such as those of horticulture, viticulture, and oenology, independently also of the numerous schools of agriculture, general or special. This professor teaches agriculture at the normal school for teachers, and in the higher primary schools; he centralises the reports, by the aid of which are prepared the agricultural statistics; he goes into the villages to give lectures and demonstrations; he there organises experimental fields, of which he confides the care to an intelligent cultivator, and which he returns to visit from time to time; he there experiments on the spot with machines, tools, methods, for instance, a mode of grafting; he promotes the foundation of syndicates, co-operative, or mutual societies; he gives counsels, indications, encouragements. For the rest of his time he stays in his office at headquarters, at the disposition of those who want to consult him. In Italy, the *cattedre ambulante di agricoltura*, subsidised by the provincial councils and savings banks, controlled by local Vigilance Commissions, equally accomplish improvement."

It may be remarked, in passing, that if such things are found necessary and good in France, Italy, and Belgium, they are necessary in England, where backward agriculture rubs shoulders with good; but, once more, they are plainly necessary in Egypt, where the agriculturist is so much more primitive, and where cotton-growing in particular depends so vitally upon scientific method. We are in fact only at the beginning of our task of economic improvement in Egypt, to say nothing of the problem of moral improvement.

Professor Arminjon may be right or wrong in discounting heavily the sanguine anticipations formed by officials and others in regard to the development of the Soudan; but it is clear that whatever may be the distant possibilities of that great territory, there is abundant room for the immediate application to Egypt of methods of improvement which have been tried and found to answer in European countries. The fellah is not less, but more amenable to supervision and instruction than the free peoples of self-governing countries. His circumstances as to irrigation have injured him to control; he is by habit reverent of government, and he has plenty of learning power as well as abundant willingness to labor. Whether his needs, economic and moral, can be properly looked after or planned for by one supreme but over-worked British official, badgered by conflicting political prejudices, scolded alternately or simultaneously by British capitalists and bureaucrats, and by vociferous Egyptian Nationalists, is another question. It would really seem that the manifold needs of the Egyptian population call for a more adequate supervision and initiation than can be given by any single successor of Lord Cromer, and it is very doubtful whether even a free hand to a native ministry might not mean a more ready resort to the lessons of foreign example than either Lord Cromer or Sir Eldon Gorst has thought of

making. On any view, the general promotion of education in Egypt is seen to be more and more necessary, on economic, no less than on moral grounds. The new university should be promptly equipped with one or more Chairs of Agriculture, and the teaching, it need hardly be added, should be in Arabic. Down till last year, if not still, the only teaching of agriculture given in Egypt under our rule, at the School of Agriculture, has been imparted in French or English. That simple fact speaks volumes, and will one day be recorded as a marvel.

VISIONS AND REALITIES.

- "The New Inferno." By STEPHEN PHILLIPS. (Lane. 4s. 6d. net.)
 "The Porch of Paradise." By ANNA BUNSTON. (Herbert and Daniel. 3s. 6d. net.)
 "Nefrekepta." By GILBERT MURRAY. (Clarendon Press. 4s. 6d. net.)
 "Verses." By H. BELLOC. (Duckworth. 5s. net.)
 "Rowton House Rhymes." By WILLIAM ANDREW MACKENZIE. (Blackwood. 3s. net.)
 "Week-day Poems." By HUGH OWEN MEREDITH. (Arnold. 5s. net.)

THE poet who means to transmute the hard commonplace of the world's actuality has at least one capital advantage over him who deals with visionary matters, legends, and "brave, translunary things." The strait channels through which the former must force his imagination give it, almost whether he will or not, the condensation and the intensity that are, perhaps, a good poem's first requirement. But the visionary poet must supply entirely out of his own unaided faculty all the rigor his art needs. It is very well, while he is dreaming his dreams, that his imagination should dilate and expand and transcend the laws of earthly life; but when he comes to work his dreams into poetry, he must cast his imagination into rigor as certain and as clear as any actuality should demand; else it will incurably fail of half its artistic effect. Milton, as in most other poetic matters, is the great exemplar here; his imagination, for all its unequalled immensity, is as rigorous and as condensed as anything in Villon or Burns. We should not, perhaps, expect visionary poems to be altogether Miltonic nowadays; but, with "Paradise Lost" in the language, it does seem reasonable to expect in them some care to effect intensity of workmanship and rigor of design. Both Mr. Stephen Phillips's "New Inferno" and Miss Anna Bunston's "Porch of Paradise" are visionary poems of lofty purport and large outline; but they both fail in this one vastly important respect—that the imagination in them had not been sufficiently condensed before it was wrought into poetry. Such a primary fault as this cannot stand by itself; so it is that in both we find the vague largeness of the original vision is mated with a slackness of detailed technique which becomes a more noticeable and more trying fault than the other. The two poems are written in blank verse; in both it is hardly modulated at all, and ambles along at a decent speed that never loses its irritating uniformity, whatever the impelling emotion may be. Mr. Phillips divides his blank verse into quatrains, which certainly does something to relieve its monotony, though the propriety of the device is very doubtful, since the quatrains, with no rhyme to bind them into unity, simply make the verse halt on a period at every four lines. But this is, at any rate, better than the constant fluidity of Miss Bunston's verse, in which the identity of the pentameter line is almost lost. The two poets also pay the penalty for their primary fault in the actual words of their verse; not having thoroughly mastered their own visions, they are both apt, when it comes to fashioning the vision into language, to seize on the first word that presents itself, without much regard for the subtler proprieties of poetry. Thus, Miss Bunston will say of her Paradise:—

"Not yet were summer heat and winter cold
 Exchanged for one Elysian temperature."

And Mr. Phillips will call death

"That most conspicuous catastrophe,"

which, like Miss Bunston's "Elysian temperature," says what he means, but does not say it in poetry.

There is fine thought in both these poems, however. They are not dissimilar in theme. "The New Inferno,"

Dantesque only in the succession of its visions, works out the notion of punishment for evil-doing in some accordance with modern philosophy, and manages to do so with a good deal of ingenuity—more ingenuity than fantasy, perhaps. The vision of Napoleon dwelling frozen in the immense winter of his own ruthless will is probably the best thing in it, though those passages are quite memorable which describe the possession of living bodies by ghosts still frantically lusting after sin. The poem has a certain solemnity of manner, but achieves its best moments only by palpable artifice:—

"And white in his own dreams the Emperor stood,
 Roofed by the purple vault of his own mind,
 And glassed upon a glacier of the soul."

In Miss Bunston's "The Porch of Paradise" the chief good quality in the poetry is an elaborate symbolism of the kind that is sometimes mistaken for mysticism. It is a vision of earthly life made perfect, as a preliminary to heavenly life, and is poetically, as well as sincerely, religious. It has some vivid invention, and some fresh and occasionally radiant fantasy; were it not for the serious faults we have mentioned, it would be a striking performance. This, from one of the intercalated lyrics, shows Miss Bunston in a characteristic vein:—

"O Husbandman divine! O Holy Ghost!
 See on the hills of Past and Present spread
 The waving harvest of the wheat of faith,
 O reap and bind and make us all one bread."

Dr. Gilbert Murray's Egyptian story, "Nefrekepta," is, as we gather from the preface, a *parergon*; in any case, it does not call for very lofty standards of criticism. It is a charming tale, versified from a Demotic papyrus, in which, no doubt, the mental attitude of later Egypt towards the unknown is pretty clearly shown. But evidently it was mainly as a piece of narrative that it appealed to Dr. Murray; and as such it must surely delight anyone to whom pure narrative, like, say, Boccaccio's, appeals. The *naïveté* of its magical and ghostly business reminds one somewhat of those delicious Chinese tales which Dr. Giles has translated, the "Strange Stories" of Sung-ling. But in "Nefrekepta" there are also touches of beautiful character-drawing and pathos, though the psychology of the story's conduct, as always in first-rate narrative, is implicit, not explicit. In Dr. Murray's part of the story the only thing we have to criticise is the verse; it seems to us that for a narrative of this kind couplets would be far more suitable and effective than Omarian quatrains. But, at any rate, the choice gives Dr. Murray an opportunity of proving his mastery over this difficult stanza.

Mr. Belloc's book of "Verses" is a somewhat miscellaneous collection—none the worse for that. He has no notion of limiting the matter of his song to anything conventionally "poetic"; and yet his workmanship is so fastidious that whatever he handles turns into something better than the mere "verse" of his title. If, for instance, he wishes to ridicule a certain style of poetry, as in "The Yellow Mustard," he does it by writing a poem in which the style is certainly made exquisitely ridiculous, but which nevertheless comes much nearer to genuine poetry than most of the stuff made by those who deal seriously in the style. Consider the beautifully absurd music of this:—

"I heard the Thristle call again,
 'Come hither, Pain! come hither, Pain!'
 Till all my shameless feet were fain
 To wander through the summer rain."

A good deal of the book is humorous; and Mr. Belloc's humor is not only capable of such sound fooling as "The Benefits of the Electric Light," but also of carrying political and personal indignation. And always the workmanship, whatever the mood or the matter of the poem may be, is admirable. One cannot help wishing, however, that Mr. Belloc's poetic faculty were a little less versatile. We could very easily do without several of his satirical and jibing verses, if instead we had some more pieces in the vein of "The South Country," with its large air and serious longing, or of "The Prophet Lost in the Hills," a thing of excellent imagination.

Mr. Belloc's versatility, at any rate, gives us an easy passage from the sheer vision of Mr. Phillips and Miss Bunston, and Dr. Murray's magic, to the violent reality of Mr. Mackenzie's "Rowton House Rhymes." Mr. Mac-

Instalments of 21s. The first payment of 21s. to be made with this order. The second becomes due one month after delivery, and subsequent payments at monthly intervals thereafter.

kenzie takes care to make his realities as violent as possible, and his favorite method is to show the worst horrors of town poverty as a sort of savage jest. "A fat moon leers in the coppery sky"—that is the first line of a poem describing an August evening in the slums; and the word "leers" gives the key to the whole thing—the grilling, stinking streets the moon looks on are nothing but a loathsome joke. And Mr. Mackenzie's imagination has laid such a firm grasp on it that for the reader, much as he may deprecate poetry which scruples not to be jaunty and slangy, as well as violent, there is no escaping the full meaning of summer in a slum, down to the last odious detail:—

"The sawdust, spread for the leaky of lip,
Hops with a small black nimble plague."

Mr. Mackenzie, too, can let us in to the minds of those who live in the slums. "Bagster, French Polisher," is the best of these pictures; it is a quite tremendous piece of slum philosophy. Bagster starts off:—

"You ever ast yourself w'y mos' men wu'k?"

And he gives, with fine scorn, some of the conventional reasons for work, which he sees through perfectly:—

"But mos' men wu'k to get enough to eat,
To 'ave the stren'th to wu'k, to get enough
To eat, to 'ave the stren'th to wu'k, to—Yuss!
So we go rahnd the ruddy ring o' rowsees!"

But Bagster has another reason for work; he works "fer Rum":—

"I look around this cock-eyed, slew-jor'd life—
Wot do I want? Fects! Fects! Nah, Rum's a fect:
Rum's something solid in a wobbly world."

Well, this may be good sociology; but is it poetry? That, of course, is as you please; it does not greatly matter how you label it; that will not affect its unquestionable potency. And the potency of Mr. Mackenzie's verse is due to that which was mentioned at the beginning of this article—the hardening into rigorous definition, the tightening-up of a poetic imagination, when it is forced to work through the stubborn crass of immediate actuality. What Mr. Mackenzie has not shown himself able to do is to give his imaginative seizure of reality that last touch of art which saves it from seeming too strenuous, too plainly overcoming difficulty by violence, and makes it a thing inevitable and self-existing; he has not added that final nameless quicksilver of poesy which can give to the harshest and ugliest substance an air of lightness and ease.

And that is just what Mr. H. O. Meredith has done, and what makes his "Week-Day Poems" a really remarkable book. Mr. Meredith faces the welter of commonplace existence as frankly as Mr. Mackenzie does, and poetises it as courageously, as honestly, and with an imagination equally concentrated; but his poems do not need to be violent in order to be sincere. They move easily; they do not fling hither and thither under the burden of harsh reality; and yet the burden, lightly carried though it seem, is certainly there. This is not simply because Mr. Meredith has a wider vision of reality than Mr. Mackenzie, and a much more penetrating thought; it is chiefly because this "week-day" poetry of his is as scrupulous as any other fine poetry. Sincerity, courage, insight—these are the preliminary re-agents, as it were, which the poet, if he hopes to treat with everyday actuality, must use to dissolve his troublesome substance. But without the final and most potent re-agent, artistic scrupulousness, he will not make a perfect solution, free from turbidity and undigested scum. There sometimes appears a notion that the poet who deals directly with everyday reality need not be expected to achieve an art of any notable excellence; indeed, the notion is sometimes pushed so far as to assert that such a poet is more admirable if his work be raw and turbulent than if it be purified and at its ease. To see the crude folly of this, we have only to look back and count the poets (they are not many) who have most successfully preserved for us in poetry a vision of their own immediate surroundings; and they are the poets who have brought to the task a scrupulous, and even a delicate, technique; the others, those who thought reality by itself was enough, are dead and nothing. For the purer the poetry, the more compelling the vision, whatever it present. Here, at any rate, in Mr. Meredith is a poet who can turn the London of to-day into poetry; can turn it, too, into lyrical poetry of delicate and scrupulous

workmanship, which, like all such poetry, is strong enough to carry ugliness without marring its style, and indignation without sinking into violence.

For there is plenty of indignation in these "Week-Day Poems"; sardonic, however, more often than savage. It would be far enough from the real truth to be unjust, and yet it would not be wholly untrue, to call them sociological poems. Their first reason for existence is simply that they are poetry; but they have another reason, better or worse according to your ethics of art. They are plainly purposive; no reader can escape being infected by them with an indignation against our social stupidities, with almost a contempt for a scientific age which fails to be scientific where it matters most. That, at any rate, is true of the best poems; "The Sands of London," to name only one, would hardly have been written unless Mr. Meredith had worked out some sort of sociological belief. However, the effect of good poetry requires no explanation; such lines as these may be left to take care of themselves:—

"As I stood waiting in the mire
That blackens Piccadilly,
A hoop red-hot from hunger-fire
Went round my empty belly;
It gripped and seared me like a tyre
Red-hot that grips the felly."

And we do not think any Londoner will easily forget this stanza, once he has read it:—

"A hansom, when the clock struck two,
Passed by with padding tread;
It seemed as though a mouse went through
A chamber of the dead."

That is the first stanza of a poem in which London is imagined as an entity more finely, perhaps, than ever before in poetry. But one of the chief virtues of the book is that Mr. Meredith can see unity in multifariousness. There is no monotony in these poems; they are full of excellent variety—so much that it is impossible to give the right taste of their quality by quotation. But underneath all the varying dramatisings of character, underneath all the varying moods of the lyrics, lies the unifying sense of society as a creature, not as a haphazard mess of creatures. That, and the excellent simplicity and strength of the lyrical art, are what chiefly remain in the mind after a first reading of "Week-Day Poems."

PIONEERS OF THE REFORMATION.

"Briefwechsel der Bruder Ambrosius und Thomas Blaurer 1509-1548." Herausgegeben von der Badischen Historischen Kommission bearbeitet von Traugott Schiess. (Freiburg-in-Breisgau.)

THE two thick volumes before us, consisting of the correspondence of the brothers Ambrose and Thomas Blaurer, the two well-known pioneers of the Reformation Movement in Southern Germany, are a monument to the energy, regardless of expense where the cause of historical research is concerned, on the part of the Baden Historical Commission. The correspondence, which extends from 1509 to 1548, occupies in all over 1,800 closely printed pages. The whole has been carefully collated and edited by Professor Traugott Schiess, of St. Gallen, who has furnished also two valuable introductions to the two volumes respectively. Without Professor Schiess's introductions and notes the difficulty of threading one's way through this intricate mass, in which it is often so hard to see the wood for the trees, would be enormously enhanced. But it is not alone for these that the historical student of the future will have to thank Professor Schiess. The latter has conceived of his functions as editor in so broad a spirit that we find of these well-nigh 700 letters in all that each is headed by a short précis of its contents. The care with which this is done, and the labor involved, would only be fully appreciated by those practically conversant with the work of historical research. The cross-references are also of the utmost value in this epistolary labyrinth. Altogether, the editing is a model of what editing should be.

The letters themselves, some of which are in Latin and others in German (of the sixteenth century), and cover, with the exception of Luther, almost all the better-known names

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connected with the German Reformation, are very unequal in intrinsic interest. While some of them throw a striking light on contemporary political and religious life, others contain mere dry details, concerning private matters or theological points. We would like to know, by the way, on what principle Professor Schiess acts in leaving some of the letters in the original German while translating others into modern form and spelling, &c. For our own part, we should have preferred the whole to have been given as originally written. But the modernising of some, while others are left untouched, seems a somewhat illogical proceeding. Then, again, why are some of the Latin letters left in the original, while others are given in modern German translation?

The brothers Blaurer were natives of the town of Constance, whence so large a number of their letters are dated. Their family belonged to the Constance patriciate. Born in the last decade of the fifteenth century, they grew up in the *Sturm und Drang* of the Reformation Movement. Ambrose was educated for the Church, Thomas for the law. Philip Schwartzerd (Melancthon) was a school friend of Ambrose Blaurer at Tübingen, with whom the latter kept up a correspondence after becoming a monk in the monastery of Alpnarsbach. A reading, probably at the instigation of his friend, of sundry writings of Erasmus, Hutten, and Luther, drew him into the circle of the Reformation ferment. Thomas Blaurer, who studied law in Freiburg, was similarly influenced by one of the Freiburg canons, and also by one of the leading ecclesiastics (Urban Rhegius) in his native town of Constance. Inflamed by the news of Luther's proceedings at Wittenberg, in 1520 he repaired to the University, and joined Luther's intimate circle there, accompanying his leader in his journey to Worms. Having renounced jurisprudence for theology, he now set himself vigorously to study Hebrew, at the same time keeping his brother informed of all that went on in the Luther circle in North Germany.

Ambrose Blaurer at length found his position in the monastery at Alpnarsbach untenable. In July of 1522 he fled the cloister, reaching his home three days later. He preached much in the neighboring towns, creating everywhere a sensation by his vehement denials of the real presence as an article of faith. His views on this point, which his brother seems soon also to have adopted, led to a *rapprochement* of the brothers with Zwingli and his followers in Zurich and corresponding estrangement from the Lutheran party. In the end, the Blaurers came to occupy a kind of middle position between Luther and Zwingli on the points at issue, maintaining relations with either side. From Ambrose Blaurer's return to Constance, in 1522, began the extraordinary activity displayed by him and, to a lesser extent, his brother in the conduct of the Reformation throughout the cities of Southern Switzerland and Northern Germany, an activity which brought them into contact with all the leading Reformers of the time. In all this the principal rôle was played by Ambrose; Thomas seems to have remained for long periods of time in Constance. Ambrose Blaurer, it may be mentioned, like so many of his colleagues, married an escaped nun.

The letters contained in Vol. I. comprise a mine of material as to the relations between the Lutherans and Zwinglians, and the efforts which the Blaurers, in conjunction with Butzer of Strasburg, made to bring about a common ground of understanding between them. In 1538, owing to his falling into disfavor with Duke Ulrich, Ambrose Blaurer left Wurtemberg, returning to his native city, where he remained for the next ten years, with the exception of one absence of six months. All the time he was concerned for the discipline and organisation of the churches he had founded, or with which he had been connected, and very full is the correspondence at this time with various lights of the Reformation. The attempts of Charles V. and the Catholic powers to destroy the Reformation, which gave rise to the foundation of the celebrated Schmalkaldian League of the Protestant princes and towns of Germany, had a powerful influence on affairs in the South. The defeat of the Schmalkaldian League led to far-reaching defections from the cause of the Reformation in Wurtemberg and Franconia, where town after town surrendered to the Imperial troops. In 1544 came the turn of Constance. The inhabitants had been persuaded by the pulpit orations of Ambrose Blaurer to hold out after all hope of successful resistance was at an end, and when the downfall came, his position in the town proved untenable. He had lived to see a great part of the work of his

life wrecked. Leaving Constance, he settled in Griessenberg, whence, in the following year, he retired to Winterthur, in canton Zurich.

We have said enough to show that the present volumes, embracing the letters of the Brothers Blaurer to and from all the more important personages in the social and religious life of Southern Germany, between the years 1509 to 1548, are absolutely indispensable to every student of Reformation history. A third volume, we should state, is announced as in preparation, which it is hoped will appear next year, bringing the correspondence down to the death of the two brothers, thus completing an invaluable self-contained mass of historical data.

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His life, however, is not so important as his religion. Unfortunately, we can recognise in our midst to-day some of those unhealthy elements which Heliogabalus attempted to make permanent in old Rome. Mr. Hay is very careful not to be prejudiced in favor of Christianity. But the evidence of his own book is clear proof that the world lost nothing in rejecting Imperial Sun-worship for the beliefs and practices of "the lower classes." Mr. Hay says that:—

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The changes most commonly asked for are much less than these facts would suggest. It is well known that the expense of divorce makes the law an illusion. Things are practically no better now than in 1845, when Mr. Justice

Moule told a man charged with bigamy that he could have got a divorce for about a thousand pounds, and added: "You say that you are a poor man, and have not as many pence. But I must tell you that there is not one law for the rich and another for the poor." At present a divorce can be got for, perhaps, £100, which is much the same as a thousand to the ordinary working woman, or even to the wage-earning man. The Summary Jurisdiction Matrimonial Causes Act has rescued many women from violence by the grant of legal separation, but it has withheld the power of re-marriage, and thus, as Mr. Chapman puts it, "promotes immorality, illegitimacy, and concubinage." Another great defect of the Act is that it has "failed to give the wife any remedy for the immorality of her husband." Mr. Chapman gives instances from his own knowledge where a man has brought another woman to live with him under the same roof with his wife. Such cases are not so very uncommon, and a magistrate, if consulted, can do no better than advise the wife to turn out the other woman, resorting to methods older than law. Every Protestant country in the world, except Britain and five or six of her Colonies, allows a wife to divorce her husband for adultery, and there can be no clearer sign of increasing humanity towards women than the growing perception that if monogamous marriage is to be binding in fact, if it is to have any real existence, faithfulness is its necessary condition. This is one of the most obvious points for the consideration of the Commission, and the second is the removal of the scandal of subjecting men and women to acknowledged wrong for no other reason than poverty.

Mr. Chapman would add to the causes of divorce hopeless insanity, persistent criminality, cruelty, desertion for two years, and some other conditions which either make marriage of none effect, or inflict disastrous injury on one of the partners. The only difficulty is to draw the line, for there are many forms of injury which destroy health, spirit, and soul more surely than absence, violence, or the crimes known to the law. Relief from these could only be given by allowing the dissolution of marriage on some comprehensive and indefinite ground, such as "invincible unwillingness to continue the marriage," the equivalent of which is already held sufficient in eight countries. Mr. Chapman suggests that a legal separation for a period of years shall be followed on application by divorce, and this would be an effectual alternative, provided that unwillingness, or the equivalent, were held a sufficient cause for judicial separation, carrying with it a judicial decision as to the maintenance and custody of the children. In this direction, too, it is hoped the Commission may make some practical suggestion.

On the general question there can be no doubt that British public opinion is moving in the same direction as that of other nations; and the change marks more than a desire for a reform of the law. It marks a difference in marriage itself, of which some real community of spirit is coming to be an essential part, both in fact and in consciousness. It marks also the advent of a more Christian spirit towards those who have married disastrously, shown in the desire that they shall not be further tortured by being forced to reiterate and publish the details of their misery in matters naturally private, nor compelled so to punish their partners, on whom they may have no desire for vengeance.

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very inadequate account of others, which, if mentioned at all, deserve fuller treatment. Thus, modern literature is dismissed in a scrappy paragraph of about the same size as that given to the Channel Tunnel scheme, and less than half as long as that given to vaccination. Sir Herbert Maxwell makes no pretence of writing impartial history. "When it is considered," he says, in his preface, "that the history of Great Britain during the nineteenth century has been left hitherto to be dealt with almost exclusively by Liberal or Radical writers, there is surely some indulgence due to one who has honestly attempted to present the facts, and the motives underlying them, as they appear to a Conservative." But Sir Herbert Maxwell does not allow himself to be carried away by partisanship. He speaks of Mr. Herbert Paul's "scrupulous fairness as a historian," and if he praises the Tory Government in 1888 for not acceding to Parnell's request for a Select Committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the "Times" charges, he is consistent enough to condemn the appointment of a similar body in 1896 to investigate the complicity of Rhodes and the Chartered Company in the Jameson Raid. On the responsibility for Gordon's death, he also attempts to hold the balance fairly. He admits that had Gordon not thrown his original instructions to the winds, he might have brought away the Khartum garrison at any time before May 26th, 1884; but he over-states the facts when he adds that, "in the judgment of the nations," Gladstone allowed the honor of England "to be smirched." Sir Herbert Maxwell was Assistant-Whip in Lord Salisbury's second Administration, and he writes with some authority of the political events of the period, particularly of those connected with Lord Randolph Churchill's resignation.

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The Week in the City.

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THE state of affairs in the Money Market this week has reflected the general prosperity of trade. The demand for cash in the country and the many profitable openings which loanable capital can find for itself in commerce keep the surplus

available for the London Market at a low ebb. No help comes from Government disbursements, and the result is that the ordinary calling of loans by the banks for their monthly make-up has caused quite a little pinch, and sent borrowers to the Bank for help. Scarcity of bills, on the other hand, and the unfailing speculative optimism of the bill-brokers, has ended the recent rise in the discount rate and caused a fall. The rashness of allowing the rate to drop now is freely criticised by the more cautious spirits. Money rates are rising in America; the rivulets of gold which are flowing to Brazil, Turkey, and elsewhere, prevent the Bank from gaining gold; and the Whitsuntide Holidays are at hand with their cash requirements—usually about two millions.

THE AMERICAN BOOM.

The American Market has been the centre of interest on the Stock Exchange. During the early part of the week the boom which followed the Oil Trust decision continued briskly enough, although there was no sign at any time that it was more than a professional Wall Street affair. For a trade boom of a more substantial sort the States will have to wait until the autumn, when hot weather is over and the crop prospects are secure. The boom soon affected the price of money in New York, and a slight increase in the rates gave the signal for its end. The determination of the administration not to allow the Sherman Act to be "interpreted" into a dead letter is shown by the proceedings against the Steel Trust and Lumber Trust, which have rather intimidated Bulls. The end of the boom, if it is ended, will be considered not an unmixed evil in the City. There is much American money here still, in spite of recent re-purchases of short-term notes from the other side, and it would be inconvenient if New York were to withdraw and, by withdrawing it, to reduce the Exchange perhaps to gold point.

THE STOCK EXCHANGE.

Except for the American boom, the Stock Markets have had an uneventful history during the week. Consols have been affected by no more important influence than that they will soon be marked "ex div," and so look cheap. In the Home Railway Market there has been nothing but selling. It seems as though operators were anxious to get rid of their responsibilities, so as to give an undivided attention to the coming festivities. In fact, the distractions and diversions of the Coronation are having a paralysing effect on business. It means, after all, the diversion of a large amount of capital from investment to unproductive luxuries. If 10,000 heads of families and businesses, here and abroad, spend an average of an extra £200 apiece on clothes, fancy rents, decorations, and hospitality, that means that £2,000,000 is diverted from the Stock Exchange, which is probably a low estimate. A little centre of speculative activity has developed in Russian Mines and Industrials, on behalf of St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Paris, which are not subject to our present distractions. The Russian official journals have issued a warning against the speculative character of the boom on the St. Petersburg Bourse, where two years of good harvests have given many people plenty of money to throw about.

SIR EDGAR SPEYER ON EXPORTS OF CAPITAL.

At a dinner of the Liberal Colonial Club on Wednesday, over which the Prime Minister presided, Sir Edgar Speyer, the well-known banker, read a paper on the export of British capital, in which was, in the words of the Prime Minister, a conclusive exposition of some of the main principles which lie at the root of our fiscal system and of our commercial prosperity. Sir Edgar exposed the fallacy of supposing that old accumulations of capital could be sent abroad; if A sells an old investment and re-invests abroad, B buys what he sells with his fresh savings, so that A's foreign investment is made in substance with B's new accumulations. In another instructive passage, he pointed out the enormous preference we give to the Colonies and India by admitting their Government loans to our lists of trustee securities. We lend to them in consequence about 1 per cent. cheaper than to other countries, which saves them, at least, ten millions a year. Sir Edgar concluded with a warning of the necessity, in competition with well-equipped and daring nations, of "good muscles, alert minds, and adroit hands." He hinted at the moral, which we may draw here in a word—the Insurance Bill.

LUCCELLUM.

PREMIER OIL AND PIPE LINE.

AN Extraordinary General Meeting of the Premier Oil and Pipe Line Company (Limited) was held on Friday, May 19, to consider a proposal to increase the capital to £1,000,000 by the creation of 870,000 shares of £1 each, ranging *pari passu* with the existing shares of the Company's capital, and also approving of the purchase from the Triumph Oil and Transport Co. (Limited) of all the share capital of the Triumph Petroleum Gesellschaft m.b.H., and of the Alliance Petroleum Gesellschaft m.b.H. (companies registered under Austrian law), and certain other assets of the first-mentioned company, comprising producing wells and oil territories, for the sum of £590,000, payable as to £165,000 in cash and as to £425,000 in fully paid shares.

Mr. E. T. Boxall, who presided, said he was pleased to be in a position to state that the proposals had been approved by a large number of shareholders, proxies to the extent of more than 120,000 shares having been sent in to the directors in favor of the scheme. The properties proposed to be taken over comprised a considerable number of producing wells in the best portions of the Boryslaw and Tustanowice Oilfields, producing at the date of the report about 800 tons daily. Details had been given in the report of Prof. Gryzbowski. Since the date of that report one of the wells known as "Napoleon" had developed some water difficulty, but on visiting the properties a week ago he found signs of an increased production at this shaft, which were very hopeful. The other producing wells had also varied to some extent.

Two other shafts, "Maximilian" and "Eliseum," had entered the producing lists since Professor Gryzbowski made his report. The fact of these two wells having reached the oil strata was a very important point, as there was now no uncertainty as to reaching the oil in these shafts. In the case of the Eliseum shaft, oil had been obtained since the negotiations were entered into with the Triumph Company, so that the value of this well had considerably increased while the negotiations had been proceeding. This fact was very encouraging in connection with the other shafts in course of drilling that were to be taken over from the Triumph Company.

In addition to the producing shafts the property acquired included some ten further wells in course of drilling, several of which might be expected to reach the productive zone almost immediately. The properties also comprised very extensive areas of oil-bearing land, which would provide almost unlimited scope for development on a large scale in the future. All the undeveloped land was situated in districts that were looked upon very favorably by those intimately connected with the Galician Oilfields.

He also wished to draw special attention to the boring rights to be taken over in the Perehinsko district, which land had been favorably reported on by Professor Zuber. As mentioned in the circular, oil had already been worked in this district in a very primitive way by peasants for some years, but no serious exploitation had been yet attempted. This land undoubtedly provided opportunities for extensive development, and might reasonably be expected to be the source of considerable revenue in the future. It was intended to proceed at once with the boring of two wells on the property.

With regard to the terms of purchase, the price must be considered a very reasonable one, but for the satisfaction of shareholders they had obtained an independent valuation from Mr. Wolski, which showed that they were making a good bargain. As a large part of the purchase price was payable in shares, the vendors had considerable faith in the merits of the properties, as not only would any profit to them depend upon the results obtained, but also the larger part of the original price paid for the properties, mostly in cash.

In the opinion of the Directors the proposed scheme would be a very equitable amalgamation of the various interests, and should prove advantageous to all concerned, as in no other enterprise did the old adage that union was strength apply more than in the exploitation of petroleum wells. The combination would place the Company in a very strong position, and constitute it in fact as well as in name the premier English Company operating in Austria. They would now possess at least thirty shafts, all in good order, and distribute them in the best positions over the oil-fields, so that they could expect a large revenue.

The increase of capital was unanimously agreed to.

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THE ROYAL MAIL STEAM PACKET COMPANY.

The Annual General Meeting of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company was held on the 24th inst. at the Cannon-street Hotel, Sir Owen Philipps, K.C.M.G., presiding. The Chairman said that he was pleased to be able to report that the Company continued to make steady progress, and that the Directors felt justified in recommending an increase in the Dividend for the past year to 4 per cent. on the Ordinary Stock as compared with 3 per cent. for the previous year. As usual, they had written off full depreciation on the fleet and plant for the year, being the largest amount ever written off in any year in the history of the Company. The Directors had written off, out of the profits for the year, the whole of the balance of £11,100 discount on the issue of the 4½ per cent. Debentures Stock, in addition to £10,400 off the expenses of issuing the 5 per cent. Debentures, or altogether £21,500. There had also been added to the Reserve Fund £30,000. These items together amounted to over £51,000, and as £45,000 was equal to 5 per cent. on the Ordinary Stock, the proprietors would realise that the Directors were continuing to carry out a safe and conservative financial policy. The past year had been a noteworthy one in the Company's history for two reasons. Firstly, because the West India Transatlantic Mail contract had been renewed after an interval of no less than five-and-a-half years. By the terms of the new contract which had been entered into, the West India Colonies—excepting Jamaica—were now assured for the next six years of receiving their mails with the same regularity as in the past. This solution had only been arrived at by the Home Government and the Colonial Governments combining to provide the funds necessary to maintain regular communication between the Colonies and the Mother-country. The subsidy which the Company was receiving was a moderate one, but he hoped it would enable the service to be carried on not only without loss to the proprietors, but to provide a moderate interest on the capital employed in the service. If it did this it would be a considerable improvement. The case of Jamaica stood alone, as Jamaica had, until quite recently, a direct Mail Service of her own from Bristol, which only terminated in February last. In view of the fact that the contractors for the Jamaica direct service in the ten years ending February, 1911, after crediting the full subsidy they received from the Government, lost on an average, £45,000 per annum in carrying out the terms of their mail contract, including the actual loss on the mail steamers since sold, they would readily understand from these figures that mail contracts at inadequate rates of subsidy were far from being profitable.

The second notable event which had occurred during the past year, was the acquiring of the shares of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company, which was incorporated by Royal Charter in 1840, and with whom they had worked for over seventy years on the closest and most friendly terms.

Referring to competition, the Chairman remarked that a shipping line was unlike a railway line, and was unable to secure any monopoly, the ocean being free to all. In his judgment, it was important that if the British shipping trade was to maintain its premier position in the world, both Home and Colonial Governments should always bear this fact in mind when dealing with this great industry which had done so much to build up the British Empire. Shipowners did not object to reasonable regulations which tended to secure safety of life and property at sea, and they fully recognised the friendly spirit with which the President and Officials of the Board of Trade in recent years had dealt with the shipping industry. The Governments of some of the Dominions and Colonies who had not had the same opportunity of obtaining the same practical knowledge of the difficulties of carrying on a shipowners' business, had recently brought forward legislation, which, if put into practice, would do much to hamper this great industry. This was one of the matters which was to be fully discussed at the Imperial Conference which was now sitting. The report was agreed to.

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